

**ART FACTORIES IN SHANGHAI:
URBAN REGENERATION EXPERIENCE OF POST-INDUSTRIAL
DISTRICTS**

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SUMMARY

Shanghai's rapid economic growth, social reform and urban renewal during the past decade have resulted in a transforming urban skyline, with large-scale demolition of downtown historical districts in the highly planned urban environment. Since the late 1990s, a large number of urban post-industrial districts had been gradually remodeled for cultural and art-related uses. The rise of the "art factories", as well as their subsequent re-invention and new practices of public spaces, have conserved and revitalized the post-industrial sites with widespread impact on the city.

The dissertation focuses on three aspects of art factory development and its implications, in the specific context of Shanghai's rapid urban regeneration, de-industrialization and gentrification. 1. The study reviews the different processes and modes of Shanghai's art factory development, from spontaneous to government-sponsored developments. It reveals how different interest groups such as governments, property owners, and artists, were engaged and cooperated in the process. 2. Based on case studies, the dissertation takes the approach of spatial analysis to discuss the transformation of public spaces, public images and the commercial, cultural and art-related spatial practices in the new "art factories". 3. The roles "art factories" have played in urban regeneration are examined, including their impact on the government's changing conservation policies, redevelopment strategies and new planning practices in urban post-industrial areas (especially the waterfronts). The dilemmas and social problems of the current art factory development are also discussed.

The dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter One offers a brief introduction of the general background, concepts, and also identifies the various methodologies used in the research. Aside from the first and the last chapter (conclusions), each of the three above research objectives will constitute one chapter in the study: Chapter Two discusses on the historical development of art factories based on literature reviews, and summarize the different types of process modes. Chapter Three will touch on the impact of art factories on public space, activities and images conducted through spatial analysis on case studies. Chapter Four introduces the roles of art factories in urban regeneration through three aspects: neighborhood impact, policy feedback, and influences to future trend of planning practices.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Introduction and Problem Identification

With rapid economic growth and increasing urbanization in the past few decades, countless art districts have emerged and flourished all over China, especially after 1990. This phenomenon was largely precipitated by the transformation of China's economy from a highly planned economy to a free market system after the late 1970's opening up policy and social revolution. As indicated by Yang, the emancipating of mind or intellectualism - brought in from the western world, spurred China's modern art and innovation movement (2007, p.6). Moreover, census registration became less controlled; artists could migrate freely and started to form their own little art havens in cities. Early art districts located in big cities like Beijing, Shenzhen or Guangzhou were in the form of spontaneously developed "art villages"¹. Freelance artists gathered in the suburbs, attracted by low rents and a free collective art atmosphere.

By the late 1990s, China's economic mix gradually transformed from a primary, secondary bottom heavy economy towards a more balanced mix with service related industries gaining greater importance. In many Chinese cities, service related industries began to replace manufacturing industries leading to the phenomenon of empty industrial belts and factories. These abandoned factories,

¹ The "Art Village" is not only the early form, but also one of the most common forms of art districts today. Famous examples include Song Village (宋庄), Suo Jia Cun (索家村), and Fei Jia Cun (斐家村) in Beijing and Dafen Oil Painting Village (大芬油画村) in Shenzhen.

were given a new lease of life as artists began to gather and form art villages within the inner city core – leading to the formation of “art factories.

De-industrialization offered a valuable chance for the carrying out of adaptive reuse of urban post-industrial sites, a practice long carried out in western cities. Similar to the SoHo district in New York, grassroots artists in China spontaneously rent and restored many disused industrial buildings (sites) in cities, turning them into art districts filled with galleries, design studios, fashion outlets, ateliers, and leisure spaces. Beijing 798 Factory is a famous case of such spontaneously shaped art district.

Art-led conservation and regeneration in China, though sharing similar processes with western examples, was unique in its development. It was noticed that in western countries (like the United Kingdom), creative districts developed after post-industrialization, urbanization and urban renewal had completed; while in Shanghai, creative districts such as “art factories” developed almost in tandem with urban transformation. (Shanghai Economic Commission and Shanghai Creative Industry Center 2005, p.99) As such, art factories should be discussed with respect to its urban context and the distinctive social, cultural, economic and political changes happening in China.

Shanghai’s downtown urban regeneration took place when “new construction began to radically alter the cityscape” (Gamble 2003, p.111) since the late 1980s. The combination of localization and globalization not only influenced Shanghai’s cityscapes, but also produced the diversified, hybrid and progressive Shanghai

culture, turning the city into an international metropolis and a modern cultural center. As China's largest city, Shanghai had in its downtown a wide variety of reusable post-industrial buildings and sites, a rapid growing economy, a free art market, loosely controlled urban planning, and lastly, a progressive, responsive and fast-updated policy making system (compared to other cities like Beijing). Together these factors promoted Shanghai's "art factory boom", which took place in the mid 1990s, in small-scale post-industrial districts rather than the suburban "art villages" that were more popular in other cities. However the development of the "art factory boom" was not without its fair share of challenges; with rapid changes and development of her economy, Shanghai was also experiencing a large scale urban renewal program. While art factories tended to preserve, reuse and modify the existing urban fabric rather than obliterating it, private developers, however, were encouraged by the government's economic policies and in pursuit of commercial benefits from the construction on flattened sites. However despite this, dozens of art districts continued mushrooming in the downtown, especially in waterfront areas where industrial sites were historically accumulated. This grass-root level initiated urban transformation gradually changed the cityscape and attracted attention worldwide. Today Shanghai is China's newest, most intricate and largest test-bed for art factory development.

The purpose of this paper is to study the newly emerged topic of Shanghai's art factory development, an area which has been reported recently in newspaper articles, magazines, and journals but has not been systematically researched by urban scholars. Urban studies touching on the art factory development, focused more on macro-level issues like heritage conservation and urban policy making,

but none have fully ventured into a detailed, microscopic and specific field investigation of the topic. The perceived insufficiency in urban studies is mainly showed in the following aspects:

- The lack of a comprehensive analysis on the development of Shanghai's art factories.

The process and manners of restoring and reusing post-industrial sites have focused on current studies, such as the historical context, spontaneously preservation, project reports, and feasibility studies. However, few studies systematically investigated on the types and driving forces of development, and interactions between social interest groups.

- Few studies have been conducted on the aspects of physical transformation, public spaces, images and public activities of art factories.

Investigations of the post-industrial site transformation, if any, were mostly preliminary studies for conservation plans of urban historical districts, rather than specifically for art factories. However, physically changed public spaces, site patterns, transformed images and new public activities inside and outside art factories are all topics worth discussing.

- Few studies have examined the relationship between art factories and surrounding urban blocks.

The transformation from post-industrial districts to art districts has often produced implications both directly and indirectly to the surrounding blocks

and environment. This is especially prominent when residential and commercial sites are mixed.

- The role which art factories have played in the ongoing urban regeneration progress has been neglected.

Art factories have played an important role in Shanghai's urban planning agenda, policy and decision making. It is worth considering their implications and in turn applied to future urban regeneration policy and planning practices.

1.1.2 Distinguish Terms and Definitions

The definition of “art factory” is related to two similar terms that should be discussed in context:

- “*Creative Clusters*”

The term “Creative clusters” or “creative industry” has frequently appeared in Shanghai's government documents, economic reports, medium and publications. Although “creative cluster” also refers to the art districts in many articles, it is basically an economic term, defined as a “creative enterprise cluster” that takes “principal competitive advantage from a distinctive appearance, form, content, or sound that they embed or embody in their products or services and those that sell, supply, or contribute to those same products and services” (Rosenfeld 2004p. 891). Currently Shanghai Economic Committee is managing the “creative clusters” and taking them as incubators of local “creative industry”. By 2008 Shanghai Economic

Committee has established 75 creative clusters in Shanghai, ranging from art districts to high-tech development zones.

- “Cultural Quarters”

According to Evans & Shaw, the term “cultural industry” was firstly used in UK’s publications by the late 1990s, which later became a synonymous word with “creative industry” (2004, p.5) . In China, the term “cultural quarters” however represents a much wider meaning than Evans & Shaw’s definition; it involves cultural-related activities like publications, tourism, multimedia, and even sports. Besides, “cultural districts” or “cultural quarters” are frequently used terms in the urban planning field to distinguish the social, cultural, and economic land uses in urban districts.

- “Art Factories”

Although the three terms “creative clusters”, “cultural quarters” and “art factories” have all referred to some kind of geographic concentration of cultural and creative productions, in this study, the term “art factory” will be discussed neither in economic nor in social political aspects. It is specifically defined as those urban downtown² post-industrial sites, districts, or clusters (including a group of previous industrial buildings and public open spaces), which have been adaptively reused and remolded for modern art or culture-related uses. So the word “factory” is understood as both past

² The study has specifically chosen those downtown art factories, assuming that they have certain kind of influence to the urban surroundings, so that they could be placed into a wide discourse of Shanghai’s downtown regeneration.

manufacturing and contemporary art producing. To cover the diverse types of art factories in Shanghai, the scope of “art-related uses” has been extended, from the early art productions like ateliers, crafts or sculpture studios, to the later emerged art-leisure consumptions like galleries, bars, restaurants, and theatres. Furthermore, designing enterprises and associate institutions, such as fashion design studios and architecture firms, have also been included in the scope of “art factories”. In short, the definition used in the study has a wide range of art businesses, but an “art factory” is defined to be capable of producing vibrant culture-related activities, creating artistic, aesthetic, fashionable images, and providing artistic atmospheres or cultural influences that could revitalize the urban areas. According to this definition, many “creative industry incubators” (like some high-tech industrial parks), although being built on restored post-industrial sites and catering creative businesses, are not classified as art factories as they do not have such positive implications to the city.³

1.1.3 Research Scope and Research Objectives

Art factories in Shanghai started to emerge and flourish in the midst of recent urban regeneration characterized by “chaotic” de-industrialization and commercialization, and have been recognized as an important part of the transforming urban fabric. There were not only physical changes of urban patterns but also transformations in various social aspects (such as economy, culture, environment, gentrification, tourism and civil interests) pushed by rapid renewal. Due to limitation of contents, the study will not involve economic data and

³ See Appendix II for the list of Shanghai’s 75 Authorized Creative Clusters by Shanghai Creative Industry Center, and the “art factories” among them (which match the above definitions).

analysis, which frequently appeared in recently published books on “creative industry”. Historical cultural discussion and social ideologies are also beyond the scope of the study. Rather, it is necessary to discuss art factory’s conservation and growing process, as well as their positive and negative implications to (and at the same time from) urban regeneration through the following studies:

- Historic context and development;
- Physical, graphic study of the transformed post-industrial sites and images;
- Examination of social impact, activities and behaviors of the public space that may be induced by art-related businesses;
- Urban policy study on the changes of Shanghai’s urban planning practices, policies, strategies that related to art factories and their possible outcomes for the city.

It is necessary, and also the primary concern and research objective of this study to discuss the following issues and phenomena of Shanghai’s art factory development. The following areas of studies are proposed to achieve a systematic research framework:

- Developing Process and Modes

The transformation process from historical industrial sites to art districts should be researched upon, including the way different interest groups (governments, estates, property owners, artists and even neighborhoods, etc.) are involved in the process of site preservation, reuse and redevelopment.

- Spatial Transformation, Images, & Public Activities

The roles by which art factories played in influencing the surrounding urban development and place making. Through the process of adaptive reuse, diversified public spaces, spatial features and mixed images are created on the preserved industrial sites. They may encourage leisure, tourism and consumptions that differ from previous public activities.

- Roles in Urban Regeneration

Lastly, we shall examine the impact of art factories to urban regeneration, including the direct impact of art factories to neighborhood blocks and their influences to urban policy making, for example, the heritage preservation policy, downtown redevelopment strategies, planning proposals and practices of urban post-industrial districts.

1.2 Reviewing Related Discourses in Literature

1.2.1 Urban Redevelopments with Rehabilitation, Conservation, and Reuse

The discourse of art factories takes place in the context of the mid 20th century when the preservation of industrial buildings and sites was practiced in the western world and became a widely discussed topic. It was further discussed beyond the scope of rehabilitation when Eley and Worthington (1984) made feasibility studies on the adaptation and reuse of industrial buildings. As recognized now, “preservation was not the only goal” (Toorn Vrijthoff 2006, p. 68) but contemporary culture, modern lifestyles, activities of arts and innovation should also be brought into the development, “with needs to update the structure and image of a building”(Stratton 2000, p.8). Various examples from Europe and the US (like Birmingham, New York, Ruhr, etc.) were reviewed in the form of project reports or government documents, ranging from small factories to large-scale industrial sites, harbors, and even an entire industrial town. These studies often centered on some concrete aspect of the building reuse, on ways of development, feasibility studies, project management, change in functional usages, commercialization, policy making, conservation principles and guidelines.

Modern movement’s “tabula rasa” method of urban development has laid the foundation for post modernity’s conservation-based urban regeneration policy. Urban researchers have questioned and criticized the simplistic and superficial development policies and zoning controls that are systematically replacing existing urban fabric as well as erasing collective memories of the past. Worthington (1998) and Stratton (2000) both discussed the combination of

conservation in a broad regeneration discourse. It was argued that conservation should merge with existing urban fabric, values and resources not only physically, but also economically, culturally and socially to nurture the regeneration, and also “bring lasting or sustainable benefits to the whole community.” (Stratton 2000, p.20) In recent years, the post-industrial conservation and regeneration topic was subsumed in the issue of sustainable urban development, which was defined by Steele as “building a solid future and achieving prolonged, lasting worthwhile progress.” (1997, p.ix) Moreover, Evans and Shaw (2004) examined comprehensively the roles of the reclaimed cultural areas in the United Kingdom through case studies and impact evaluation. Conservation was thus tightly associated with urban regeneration issues.

Roberts (2000) traced some important factors and issues in previous eras of urban regeneration and identified five major themes: physical conditions and social response; housing and health; economic progress; the containment of urban growth; the changing role and nature of urban policy. It builds a basic framework for the discussion of urban regeneration of or led by art factories. The study also focuses on some essential features of regeneration, for example, the weakness of urban development approaches (which are universal in China’s recent mass constructions) that are “short-term, fragmented” and “project-based without an overall strategic framework for city-wide development”. (Hausner 1993, p.526) Despite this, urban regeneration is seen by many scholars as “a process of essentially physical change” (Couch 1990, p.2) and beneficial in creating “opportunities to adjust and improve the condition of urban areas” (Roberts 2000, p.11). Even the conflict of substantial social, economic and political forces in the

process of regeneration is positively estimated by Mumford (1940) and many other scholars. According to Healey, these conflicting forces and collective effort are “not merely about content, but about the process through which people seek to debate their concerns” (Healey 1995, p.256). Building on the wide discussions of urban regeneration, the study emphasizes the involvement and conflict of different social forces (e.g., artists, scholars, citizens, property owners, government) and the roles they played in the practice of regeneration. It also examines how the positive outcomes of this confliction or collaboration have improved the physical and cultural condition of the disadvantaged post-industrial districts and inner urban areas, and of course, negative implications to the city, such as social exclusion and polarization.

1.2.2 Cultural Roles and Creative Strategies in the City

From the 1990s, the catalytic role of public arts and culture in promoting downtown regeneration was noticed by many urban cultural scholars. Bianchini et al (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993; Bianchini and CLES. 1988), Wynne (1992), and Bird (1993), have mentioned how cultural and art-related activities were found to cluster in globalized cities; and furthermore, how such activities were important agents facilitating urban cultural and economic revitalization of old city cores. In addition, many cases on “arts led strategies” were presented (especially in North America and Europe) and discussed (Wynne 1992, p.15). Combined with the urban policies, the cultural strategies could “promote cultural consumption” and “incorporate cultural facilities” (Ibid) (like theatres and museums) into the city. It was also noticed by Sharp et al (Sharp, Pollock, and Paddison 2005) and Wu (2004) that public arts and cultural strategies could provide the city with better infrastructure and environment, promote exciting cultural events, revive

declining sites, attract travelers and encourage public participation. Smith's book (2006) highlighted the ways that culture, creativity and arts were embedded into industrial heritage sites and how they help catalyzed tourism and leisure developments of the city. Since Evans and Shaw (2004) concluded the three modes that cultural roles were incorporated into urban regeneration⁴, the cultural or art districts were widely believed to have an impact that extends beyond their territories to a larger part of the city.

From another point of view, economic researchers such as Florida (2002) and Landry (2000), asserted that creative practices, on the city level, could increase attractiveness and competitive advantages on social and economic aspects (like business, investments, revenue, educations, population, land use, employment, creative talents, community, and lifestyles). The literature on creative cities not only brought more profound discussions on social interests and the cooperative entrepreneur networks in urban redevelopment, but also raised greater awareness on related urban policies. Turok discussed the urban policies on Scotland's creative industries and concluded that, "the government regulations...are more important than localized networks in influencing (the) scale and durability (of creative districts)." (2003, p.549)

1.2.3 Spatial Forms, Public Space and Activities

Space, as an important discourse of the art factory discussion, was physically and socially changed by the process of adaptation and reuse. As the industrial sites and buildings were rebuilt to accommodate new functions, the open public spaces

⁴ The three different modes are: Culture-led Regeneration; Cultural Regeneration; Culture and Regeneration. See Evans, G. & Shaw, P., (2004), p.6

were similarly reinvented and spatial images, remodeled. Walsh (1992) explained the “past” of a place from social aspects as a distanced process or existence from the modern experiences, while having lasting implications to contemporary lives. Florida (2002) also noticed that diversified urban spaces and artistic images are produced by freedom of expression and a creative atmosphere. Therefore when industrial districts (with a complex social historical context) were immersed and absorbed by contemporary arts and cultural activities, it produced unique and diverse public spaces that were inseparable from the intangible, great urban social context.

The urban environment was investigated by Lynch (1960), who stated five basic elements⁵ that constitute the mental map and images of urban public space. Using human perceptions of physical space as the basis of his investigations, he created a conceptual framework for urban design on good spatial forms (Lynch 1984). Jacobs (1961) emphasized the importance of diversity and intricacies in urban design and the need to respect context, people, life and culture that exists in the space. The watershed investigations provided the framework of what makes good urban space and set future directions for studies on public spaces, social behaviors, culture and spatial perceptions in urban design. Whyte (1980), Rapoport (1982) and Lefebvre (1991) all contextualized the public space with social cultural meanings, and Lefebvre (2002) went one step further and insisted that space is “a social product” that “always contains traces of the processes that produce it, and subsequently is acted upon by a variety of material and mental processes to provide the context.” (Ibid, p.131)

⁵ Paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks.

The key element that distinguished art factories from other traditional urban public spaces, like urban squares and shopping malls, is the element of artistry and culture. Gamble describes how the “software” changes of people and lifestyles in Shanghai embedded culture into the physical space in terms of “symbolic expression and organizational practices” (2003, p.186).

1.2.4 Framing the study: Researches in the Asian and Chinese Context

Shanghai, like many other Asian cities, experienced rapid economic growth and globalization in the past decades but at a price. Numerous historical districts and heritage sites and buildings were demolished during the construction boom to make way for large scale public and private urban projects. Balderstone et al. (2002) criticized the vanishing heritage and dilution of local identities in Asian cities with a specific discussion on Shanghai. (Balderstone, Qian, and Zhang 2002)

Xintiandi (built in 2001, a former Shikumen⁶ residential district, restored for leisure and commercial uses) distinguished itself from such urban initiatives at the time and stood out as a successful model of Shanghai’s heritage preservation and adaptive reuse. A number of local urban scholars, such as Luo Xiaowei (2001), discussed the revitalized Xintiandi public space from the designing and planning aspect, specifically on the spatial transformations, activities, images and place identity. Wang and Rong (2001) also used many western examples to discuss how to improve the urban environment and revitalize the economy through the

⁶ Shikumen means “the stone gate”, a typical type of Shanghai’s traditional Linong housing.

regeneration and utilization of urban historical industrial sites. Besides, Ruan Yisan et al (Ruan and Sun 2001) conducted a number of studies on the subject of historical conservation in China, criticizing the proliferation of “for-profit” estate developments in historical sites, and advocating protection for the “real everyday life”⁷ rather than recreating an artificial scene of the past history. (Ibid, p.31) In 2004, Ruan led a spatial investigation study and tailored out a conservation plan on Shanghai’s Taikang Road Historical Featured Conservation District (of which part of the site consisted of art factories). Though it did not investigate much on the public behavior patterns and social impact, it was perhaps the first systematic survey and comprehensive morphological study on the public space, architectural types and images of the transformed historical districts.

Asian cities have been experiencing a prospering cultural and creative development recently, especially in major metropolitan cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Seoul. The art factories in China were discussed by Rossiter (2006), Keane (2004) and De Muynck (2007), with an increasing concern on the forms of creative businesses and China’s changing urban strategies and cultural policies. In the past few years, Shanghai has published numerous official reports on the creative developments and the related cultural policies that made them possible. (Shanghai Creative Industry Center 2006; Shanghai Economic Commission and Shanghai Creative Industry Center 2005; Shanghai Cultural Development Foundation 2006; Zhang, J. C., 2006; Ye and Kuai 2006). In Shanghai, art factories began to serve increasingly in more public roles (like the 2010 Expo site and the Urban Sculpture Space). However, few of them were

⁷ Ruan has also explained the criteria of “real everyday life” in the paper, judging it with two indexes: the proportion of original residents and the preservation of original lifestyles.

documented from the urban perspective, especially on the impact of art factory to urban public space practices. Hee and Tee (2006) indicated that culture was playing new roles in the development of Asian public waterfronts; Wang, W.Q. (2006) overlapped the map of Shanghai's historical featured conservation districts on the major urban public space map (including shopping malls, sports centers, restaurants, museums, etc.), and found the two spatial patterns quite coincident. Consequently, it is worth discussing how art factories (with both historical and cultural layers) could contribute to Shanghai's urban public space rebuilding and public lives.

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Synthesis of Research Methods

This research consists of in three major parts of post-industrial art districts: historical development, spaces, and social policy impact. Using archival approach and interviews, the development process of art factories is examined, focusing on the evolving paths of manufacturing sites into art districts. The study also discusses the partnerships of various social interest groups (such as artists, local authorities, estate developers, property owners, and residents) and finally differentiates several development modes based on their different driving forces. In the field research spatial transformations are examined empirically and more interviews and independent observation are conducted, with the detailed spatial analysis in case studies. The spatial, functional transformations and spatial usage of the public spaces in art factories are also examined in details. The social and political implications of art factories are discussed in the impact study, based on comprehensive literature reviews and interviews with both grassroots and authorities, touching upon issues that reflect the roles art factories played in Shanghai's urban regeneration process, including community interests, gentrification, relocation, urban planning policy and recent trends of urban practices. In brief, the study uses the following methods:

- Archival research
- Case studies
- Field research

Interviews (formal and informal); independent observation

- Spatial analysis

1.3.2 Archival Research

Archival research is the basis of this study, including collecting, reading and analyzing information leading to the final findings. In order to better understand the art factories as products of contemporary social agenda, the archival research includes literature review of books, newspapers, magazines, architectural/ urban planning journals, conference papers relevant to the historical development processes of Shanghai's industries, the emergence of art factories in the context of industrial revolution and large-scale urban renewal, the controversies they experienced, the ways they were managed, with respect to all relevant social groups in the movement. Furthermore, governmental documents, expert reports, maps, design drawings, and photographs are also included in further evaluation of art factories, such as their design and planning intentions, their publicness and usage, their impact to the surroundings, policy making procedures, and future development trends in the regeneration. Many of the key archival sources are collected from Shanghai Archives Bureau, Shanghai Library, Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Centre, and especially Shanghai Creative Industry Centre.

1.3.3 Field Research, Interviews and Spatial Analysis

The field research is conducted on Jan 2007, August 2007 and Jan 2008 separately in Shanghai's 24 selected factories (Fig 1) in the form of interviews and field walk with independent measure and observation. Some of them are highly potential art/ cultural clusters and creative parks built from previous industrial area, while other ones have already developed into world-famous art factories.

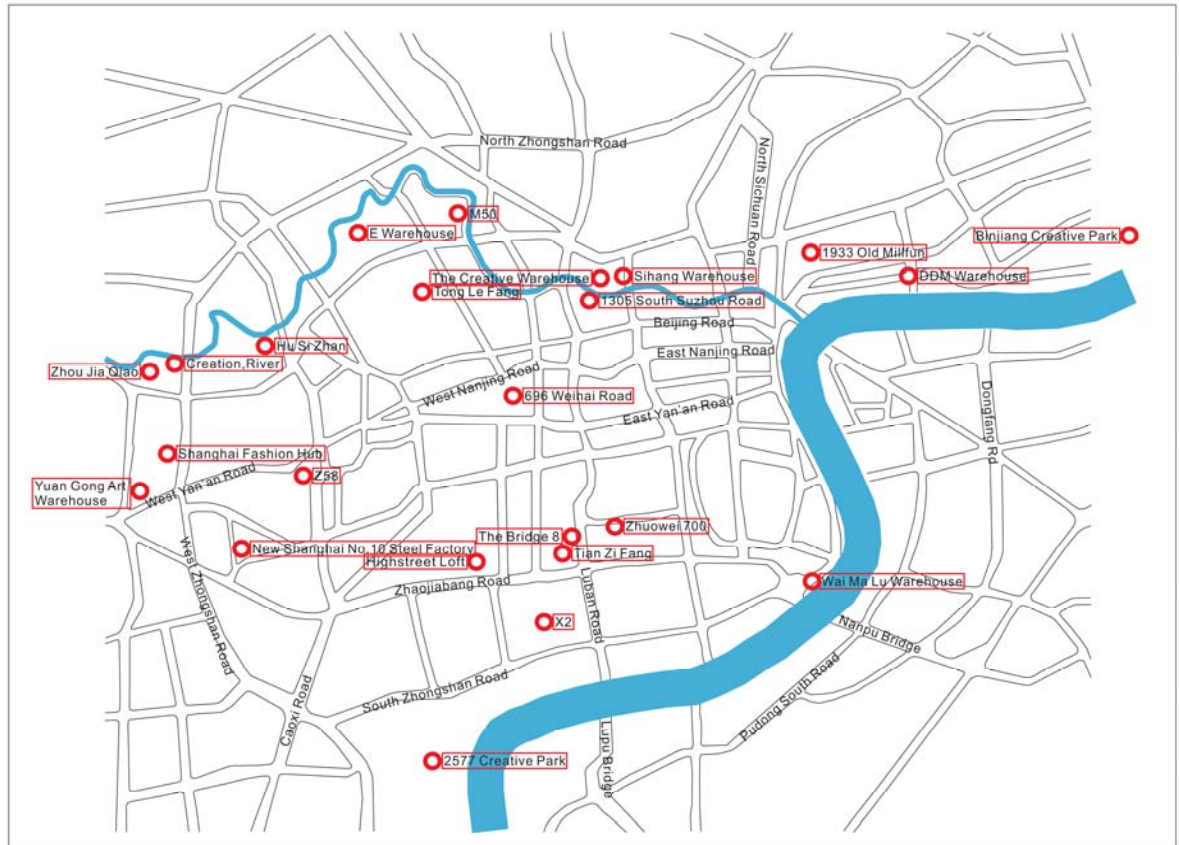


Figure 1: The location map of Shanghai's influential and potential art factories

The field research is conducted mainly from three aspects: (a) Social context, including the major social changes, historical context, the relationship of different social groups and the roles they played in the area regeneration (e.g., the involvement of neighborhoods). (b) Physical context, including complete information about location, architectural characteristics, land subdivision, scale, ownership, built environment, etc. (c) Urban context, including their impact on the city, such as the the changed urban fabric, publicness, user perceptions and activities, as well as new policies and activities like urban preservation, site upgrading and new urban designs that are generated and catalyzed by art factories.

Interview, as an important and efficient way of collecting information, is used in the study of the above three aspects (except for the physical context). In order to get a comprehensive knowledge and collect more in-depth information, interviews are conducted among all social groups (especially those with conflicting interests) involved in the movement, including government officials, neighborhood residents, artists, citizens and urban planning authorities. For the study of historical context and social changes, interviews were combined with archival research and conducted in the form of direct conversations with participants. Four interviews of average one hour have been conducted with the management staffs of M50, 1305 South Suzhou Road, Sihang Warehouse, and Tong Le Fang. The objective was to understand (in these specific cases) how the factories (or warehouses) were preserved, how they were rent from property owners and invested (some of the property owners managed art factories themselves, like in M50), and how the sites were redeveloped through spontaneous or design-based (sometimes government-led) renovation. Since all of the art factories are more or less preserved industrial districts, it is important to investigate their historical background and examine the way historical settings and characters were emphasized and combined with their new functions. The inquiry also focused on the confliction of different social groups, so that many informal interviews were conducted among grass roots (mostly tenants of the art factories and neighborhoods) on their experiences in the movement and attitudes towards current management and situations, for example, the problem of over-commercialization and residents' relocation. Interviews with the government officials were also necessary. In meeting with officials of Shanghai Luwan District (where the Bridge 8 and Tian Zi Fang belong to) Urban Planning

Management Bureau and SCIC, some maps and documents on future planning conceptions and development strategies of certain art factory area were provided, which was especially helpful for understanding the urban implications of certain art factories from a macro-prospective.

In addition, independent observation, measure and analysis of physical context were also important components of the field research, focusing on the changes of physical settings and documenting the natural flow and activities of the public realm. The research documents the physical setting of art factory spaces from the following aspects:

1. Physical aspect

- Locations and buildings
- Entrances, boundaries, linkage
- Spatial significance
- Openness and privacy
- The transaction between interior and outdoor space

2. Activities and perceptions of space:

- Land use
- Accessibility, privacy and pedestrian routes
- Public activities and utilization of public space

3. Spatial images

- Historical, industrial and artistic features of space
- Urban streets, skylines, spatial expansions and urban surroundings

The above research aspects also provide a general framework for further spatial study on the collected data and maps. For further understanding how the physical transformation of the post-industrial site patterns, final forms of spaces and new public activities are influenced by the urban social and planning context, spatial analysis approach is used on selected cases to analyze the new public spaces of art factories.

First of all, it is necessary to discuss on the major determinants of the physical, social and planning contexts that have possibly influenced the physical spatial transformation, as physical transformation and production of space is often influenced and shaped by the conflict of ideologies. A strong voice for heritage preservation (which inhibits the attempt of spatial renovation) may lead to the well-preserved and unchanged spatial layouts; while in some other cases the intention to revitalize the space (no matter whether those are top-down planning interventions or spontaneous refurbishments of old buildings) results in absolutely different appearances of the old factories. By examining, mapping and analyzing the concrete redesign measures implemented in these cases, the study discusses how innovative intentions are embodied into physical space.

Functional transformation and new spatial activities are also important components of spatial analysis. In this study new art businesses are classified into six types, including arts production, arts consumption and leisure developments. They were mapped over the layer of physical transformation that it is possible to discuss about regenerated spatial activities both according to their physical maps and land use (functional) patterns.

Due to the limited cases, only the major representative public spaces such as squares, lanes, and roof gardens, will be classified and discussed specifically in this study. They will be examined in terms of their basic spatial configurations, major spatial forms and characteristics. Lynch's framework (1960) for urban design will be employed in this study to analyze the implication of some basic spatial elements like entrances or boundaries of public spaces. Distinctive characteristics of public space will also be highlighted in the spatial study, such as the "grey space" that was described by Kisho Kurokawa on Japanese architectural type of "engawa". According to him, "grey space" is "an intervening space between the inside and outside—a sort of third world between interior and exterior... the significance of the gray space is that it is not cut off or independent from either the interior or the exterior. It is a realm where they both merge" (Kurokawa 1988, p.54). With supporting documents like photos and maps, the spatial study will further discuss such spatial features of public spaces in art factories, such as the showcases and semi-outdoor leisure facilities built to increase the interior-exterior communications.

1.3.4 Case Studies and the Research Settings

In order to further discuss in detail the second research question that focuses on the spatial transformation, images and public activities of these post-industrial districts, four art factories were selected for at least two reasons. Firstly, they have similar site scales and city center locations. Each of them emerged early, being one of the eldest and now famous art districts in Shanghai, and has contributed greatly to the social urban space by attracting numbers of visitors and through

holding frequent cultural events. This relationship between the art factories and regenerating urban surroundings requires detailed investigation. Moreover, four selected art factories differ in terms of the original industrial patterns, development paths, spatial layouts, design and planning schemes, degree of expansions, and even forms of arts/fashion businesses. Hence through comparative study and deductive analysis of the four cases, similarities and differences of their transformation and revitalization through the process of adaptive reuse can be traced.

1) Tian Zi Fang (田子坊)

Located at 210 Nong Taikang Road and occupying an area of 15,000 square meters, Tian Zi Fang was a previous “Linong factories” district. Since 1998 the factories were reused spontaneously and now over 160 tenants have settled here. It was named after its homophone “Tian Zifang (田子方)”, the name of a Chinese ancient painter. The art factory was primarily located in the 210th alley of Taikang Road, a 420-meter-long street which used to be characterized by art and handicrafts. In the late 1990s, the industrial buildings in 210 Nong began to be reused by famous artists as galleries or ateliers. Then the scope of art district extended from a single alley to a group of alley compounds. Today it occupies at least three quarters of Taikang Road block, making use of the old Linong Factories and Shikumen housing that have existed since the 1920s. Close to Linong neighborhoods and the traditional lifestyles, however, Tianzifang is now an international art district that collects galleries, handicrafts, fashions and other art-related leisure developments. It becomes both a famous creative art cluster and

the government-preserved urban heritage district (Taikang Road Historical Conservation District).

2) The Bridge 8 (八号桥)

The Bridge 8 is located in No.8-10 Central Jianguo Road with an area of about 10,000 square meters and over 70 tenants in art and creative industry, named after the eight buildings interconnected by overbridges. Before it was renamed and known as the Bridge 8, Shanghai Automobile Brake Factory was one of Shanghai's largest automobile accessory providing factories since the 1950s. At the end of 2003, the factory stopped production in the national-wide industrial revolution and the property was leased to Lifestyle Consulting Co., Ltd for 20 years. The company planned to redevelop the site in two stages. Phase I was the renovation of seven industrial buildings on the north of Central Jianguo Road, and Phase II reconstructed a former office building (also a part of the factory) on the south of the road. When Phase I was completed at the end of 2004, the Bridge 8 became not only a famous fashion and creative center but also an art cluster incorporated many world-famous design and art companies (including architecture firms, advertisements, art-related institutions and fashion studios). Recently in 2007 a 29-meter-long "Bridge of Creativity" was completed above Central Jianguo Road, connecting Phase I and Phase II as well as provided a high-level exhibition space for the public.

3) M50

Located at No. 50 Moganshan Road, Putuo District, on Shanghai's largest riverside post-industrial quarter Moganshan block, M50 is one of the earliest and

most famous art districts in Shanghai. The 23,000-square-meter area adjacent to Suzhou Creek was occupied by artists spontaneously since 2000, and the number of tenants has now exceeded 100.

Its predecessor was Xinhe Spinning Mill, a Zhou family enterprise and a representative factory of the Anhui merchants in the 1940s. After 1949 the mill was replaced by Shanghai No.12 Woolen Mill and then became Shanghai Chunming Spinning Factory. As artists generally moved in since the 1990s, the factory was firstly renamed as Shanghai Chunming Metropolitan Industrial Park in 2002, then Chunming Art Industrial Park in 2004 and then M50. Characterized by its Bauhaus-style warehouses, workshops, office buildings, dormitories, most of the factory's industrial constructions have been carefully preserved and restored into artist studios and galleries. Different from other art factories, M50 tends to focus on fine arts rather than leisure and commercial facilities such like bars and restaurants. The whole industrial site is now under new urban regeneration scheme and will become an important part of the planned waterfront cultural leisure districts.

4) Tong Le Fang (同乐坊)

Tong Le Fang is located at 66 Yuyao Road on a piece of triangle site in downtown Jing'an district, and occupies an area of 22,000 square meters surrounded by Xikang Road, Haifang Road, and Yuyao Road. Since the 1920s it was the gathering place of many Shanghai-style tiny "Linong Factories", including steel factories, textile printing plants, candy factories, machine factories and so on. In addition, a primary school, a theater and some Linong residential housing were also located in the block. In the late 1990s, most of the Linong factories stopped

production and the block turned into a slum occupied by congested, dilapidated residential buildings, cheap restaurants, markets, and even garbage recycling stations. At the end of 2004, the local government established Shanghai Tong Le Fang Cultural Development Co. Ltd. and Tong Le Fang Development & Construction Management Committee to redevelop the site on a basis of 20 years' lease. The old buildings in Tong Le Fang were adaptively reused and subsequently a modern art and leisure district was established. Now over 80 tenants have settled down in Tong Le Fang.

Chapter Two: The Rebirth of Art Factories: Historical Context, Developing Process and Current Situation

2.1 The Urban Agenda: De-industrialization and Large-scale Urban Renewal

2.1.1 Shanghai's Historical Industrial Context

The growth and development of Shanghai's modern industry, similar to many western industrial cities (like Hamburg), was largely catalyzed by their proximity to water bodies which allowed an easy mean for the exchange of goods and services within and across borders. Located at the convergence of two major rivers, the Huangpu River and Yangtze River, fed by numerous inland rivers and creeks (for example Suzhou Creek) (Figure 1), Shanghai quickly developed into a huge port city from the late 19th century onwards. This can be seen from the rapid growth in Shanghai's manufacturing and urban landscape across the period.

Meanwhile, the development of Shanghai's downtown was also hastened by "the incursion of western settlements" (Wu 2004, p.159), which directed large amount of foreign investments, knowledge and expertise into the growing city. This influx of capital and knowledge rapidly changed the landscape of urban industrial districts, especially in the foreign concession spread across the city. By the 1940s, Shanghai had become the largest, earliest and the most significant industrial city in China. Yeung believed that "no Asian city from that period could match Shanghai's cosmopolitan and sophisticated reputation". (1996, p.2)



Figure 2: The geographic location and principle rivers of Shanghai

In her heydays in the 1940s, the industrial quarters in Shanghai was largely dominated by food, commodity, and textile industries. Shanghai was then described as a “typical large industrial cities in a developing country”, where light industries were dominating urban industrial districts and “by way of backward linkages, supported small-scale engineering and metalworking subsectors”. (Yusuf and Wu 1997, p.46)

As the Chinese saying goes, the distribution of Shanghai’s industrial sectors followed the rule of “Yi Gang Xing Shi”¹¹ (He and Hua 2007, p.97), which means that the development of and emergence of a city’s urban pattern relies heavily upon the presence of ports. Compared to other metropolises like Beijing, Shanghai’s manufacturing industries distribution thus developed differently in the form of belts along water fronts. This development can be traced well into the mid 20th century where large proportions of new factories and industrial districts were

¹¹ “Yi Gang Xing Shi (以港兴市)”.

sited along the east Huangpu River and west Suzhou Creek in the downtown. In the suburbs, a number of large factories were similarly located near Yangtze River.

The industrial districts of Shanghai's inner city consist mainly of small-scale factories, warehouses and Linong factories. By the 1940s, the development of major downtown industrial quarters can be easily identified at the following areas¹²:

1. Along Suzhou Creek through Chang'ning District, Jing'an District and Putuo District in the west downtown that formed the famous "West-Shanghai Industrial Quarter"¹³;
2. Close to Huangpu River, the "Nanshi Industrial Quarter"¹⁴ developed in downtown Huangpu District. The Huangpu riverfront was occupied mostly by large factories and shipyards, like the former arsenal Jiangnan Shipyard¹⁵;
3. Away from the river in Luwan and Huangpu District, small urban factories featured strongly in the old French concession.

Due to the absence of integrated urban planning in Shanghai's early days, manufacturing sectors developed next to residential and commercial in the city

¹² See Appendix II for the location of urban districts in Shanghai.

¹³ West-Shanghai Industrial Quarter (沪西工业区), one of Shanghai's four major industrial quarters in the 1930s. The other three are Nanshi Industrial Quarter (南市工业区), and the suburban Yangpu Industrial Quarter (杨浦工业区) and Wusong Industrial Quarter (吴淞工业区).

¹⁴ Nanshi Industrial Quarter (南市工业区). Ibid.

¹⁵ It was previously the Jiangnan Machinery Manufacture Arsenal, set up in the Qing Dynasty (the 1860s).

center. This haphazard growth left many problems for consequent urban infrastructure development and planning, creating urban ills such as traffic jams, long distance transportation, and heavy pollution of downtown environment. For example, over the past decades, Suzhou Creek has been plagued with problems from waste water and illegal dumping of rubbish from waterfront factories.

Architecturally, the mixed development and cultural exchanges in Shanghai's industrial era formed an urban melting pot with diversified architectural types, scales and styles spread across the cityscape. Warehouses, factory workshops, office buildings, dormitories for workers, mills, shipyards, and Linong factories can be seen in colonial style, Bauhaus style and with Shanghai local features. Within the industrial districts, factory sizes and scale ranged from small premises like single-building factories to large manufacturing sites (like the gated community of "Danwei"¹⁶) and clustered industrial precincts (like Moganshan Road and Taikang Road District, where a lot of small factories gathered).

2.1.2 Social Reform, Urban Renewal and Industrial Restructuring since the 1990s

While Shanghai was the most thriving metropolis in the 1940s, it was strictly controlled by Beijing central government after 1949 for many years. Even though Shanghai still contributed greatly to the whole country's revenue, she did not experience as rapid a growth in its economy, modernization and renewal efforts after the 1940s. It was "not able to upgrade its infrastructure and the city remained largely the same as in the 1940s" (Wu 2004, p.159-160). Growing population and

¹⁶ "Danwei" (单位), the work unit, mostly were state-owned enterprises resulted by the socialist economy. The work unit provided food, medical care, schools, canteens, and social life to workers aside from working facilities.

influx of migrants further exerted a great deal of pressure on the city's infrastructure. Until the 1990s, a large number of citizens were still living in slums or old Linong housing blocks in the downtown. The shortage of housing thus became a serious social problem. This situation was reversed only when "after the success of reforms in south China that Shanghai finally embarked on a rapid path of modernization in the late 1980s." (Ibid)

Shanghai's urbanization and large-scale urban renewal programs occurred in the late 1990s. Following the development of Yangtze Delta, economic reform and open-up policies in 1978, Shanghai was fast becoming an international metropolis, with great changes in its social ideologies and culture. With a sophisticated cosmopolitan nature, Shanghai was a free and fashionable modern city which accommodated and promoted cultural diversity and movements. This proved to be ideal conditions for the emergence of contemporary art and urban conservation awareness in the city.

The change in policy and focus brought about great changes in the post-industrial urban landscape. From the 1980s, Shanghai experienced a construction boom partly driven by real estate speculation, which led to general improvements in infrastructure, especially on traffic systems like arteries, highways, viaducts, subways, tunnels and bridges. Countless shopping malls, office buildings and public squares were also built, and public mass housing programs began to replace old, dilapidated low-rise housing and slums. The city was expanding and new development zones and industrial districts (such as Pudong District and Minhang District) were established in the suburban area.

However, after the mid 1990s, as Ruan and Sun stated, the government began to take into account the negative outcomes brought by the 1980s' development mania, essentially the overexpansion of city, the reduction of arable land, and excess of huge development zones. A series of urban development policies were then enacted to limit the expansion of these new urban districts. Thereafter, the inner city again became the target of estate developers. (Ruan and Sun 2001, p.27)

From the mid 1990s onwards, large-scale urban renewal of downtown old districts was carried out in Shanghai. This differed from previous infrastructure rebuilding and mass housing construction initiatives as the emphasis was not in providing basic housing needs but rather in delivering higher quality environments and facilities, with better spatial layouts, greater diversity, and a more livable and people-friendly environment. The Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation Project started in 1998 was one such example. Lead by Shanghai Municipal Government and financially supported by Asian Development Bank, the project improved the water quality of the heavily polluted creek. This environmental change was an important step in the revitalization of downtown districts located beside the 23.8-kilometers-long creek¹⁷.

Meanwhile, downtown factories were gradually migrated to the suburban areas. Outer suburbs like Qingpu, Baoshan and Minhang Districts became ideal locations for new industrial zones due to their closer proximity to raw materials. Factories began to rely more on land transportation rather than water carriage as means of transporting materials and goods with the improvements to roads and

¹⁷ Within the border of Shanghai the total length of Suzhou Creek was 53.1km, in which 23.8km located in the downtown.

rails. Escalating rental and labor costs in the city further pushed the migration of factories into the suburbs. Consequently, downtown factories were shut off one after another—the urban industrial districts were moving to the suburbs at an accelerated pace, rendering the downtown industrial sites empty.

By the 1990s, Shanghai's economy was developing at a fast speed. From 2000 to 2005 her GDP increased from 455.115 billion Yuan to 914.395 billion Yuan (Shanghai Cultural Development Foundation 2006, p.138). Yusuf and Wu (1997, p.51) compared Shanghai's industrial structure of the mid 1990s with 1980s, and indicated that industrial production, especially textiles, had lost their ground, and that urban industrial sectors became geographically less concentrated.

Increasingly, cultural and service industries¹⁸ began to play a greater role in Shanghai's economy. In 2004, the “third industry” accounted approximately 6% of Shanghai's GDP¹⁹, employing nearly half a million²⁰ people in major cultural institutions. It reflected the ambition of China to join the “global creative economy” and become “a significant exporter of cultural goods and services rather than simply a low-cost location for manufacturing”. (Keane 2004, p.275) Shanghai with its competitive advantages and history of developing cultural industries, abundant abandoned industrial districts with cheap rentals, natural cultural diversity and profuse creative talents thus became a natural choice for the new creative industry. Consequently, supported by the governmental strategies,

¹⁸ The cultural and service industry has a broad definition in official statistics. It includes not only art businesses, services, leisure and entertainment developments, but also publishing, broadcasting, internet, high-tech industry, etc.

¹⁹ Source: *2004-2005 Shanghai Cultural Statistics Summary* (2004/2005 上海文化统计概览). Shanghai Statistics Bureau.

²⁰ Source: Based on the table in *2005 Shanghai Cultural Statistics Summary* (2005 上海文化统计概览). Shanghai Statistics Bureau, p.6-9

when downtown factories were moving to suburbs, the former premises began to be reused for the expanding service and cultural sector. The new industry not only took over the abandoned sites but also revitalized the area by changing the cityscape and bringing in better environment, job opportunities and amenities. It had profound implications to the urban economy, images, consumptions, and the cultural landscape.

2.2 Roles and Interactions of Different Social Interest Groups in the Art Factory Development

2.2.1 The Early Property Owners and Artists Involved in the Bottom-up Process²¹

Property Owners: the Transforming Roles of Factories

As mentioned, since the 1970s social reforms, an open market and economic restructuring propelled the transformation of China's urban industrial structure. In Shanghai, many state-owned factories (especially the cotton and textile manufacturing) had stopped production: some of them moving outside of the city while others were shut down. Numerous workers lost their jobs as a result (the so-called laid-off workers). As social security (such as the subsistence allowances) remained the enterprise's responsibility and there was no bankruptcy protection, factories suffering heavy economic pressure in the city, and had to offer their disused industrial buildings for lease.

At first, the tenants of the industrial workshops were mainly small shops and restaurants, inns, street markets, jumbled slums and even reclamation depots. However, this soon gave way, in the second half of the 1990s, to individual artists, studios and galleries. In some factories mixed with Linong neighborhoods, the artists even rented residential buildings as their working spaces.

Property owners got considerable rental returns from artist tenants, especially from the large galleries. With the capital they could restore the old buildings and provide locally, a better infrastructure, public facilities and even revamp the

²¹ The bottom-up process refers to the spontaneous reuse of post-industrial sites and collective voice for preservation by artists, which largely influenced the government's planning decision. The process will be explained in later discussion.

district's image. Take M50 art district²² as an example, the property owner (Chunming Spinning Factory) had refurbished all the building interiors, repaved the nearby roads, squares and built fountains at the entrance. Many former workers in the spinning mill had also shifted their roles to become cultural estate managers: "they had quickly developed business acumen...at the beginning the property owners were low-efficient and bureaucratic, now they could service better", said one of the artists in M50.

Artists: Spontaneous Reuse and the Collective Voice

Another significant consequence brought by the 1970s' social economic reforms was the development of the contemporary art movement and art district in China. In the following decade, the market economy and mind-liberation encouraged a new generation of Chinese art production, which were highly valued in the worldwide art market. Shanghai, with her glamour as an international metropolis, rich cultural diversity, free art market and a restructured economy, attracted numerous indigenous and foreign artists from the 1990s, cementing its position as an important center of culture production on the international art scene.

At an early stage, artists came to Shanghai from all over the country to participate. Many spontaneously settled down in the abandoned factories or warehouses in the inner city. For the grass root artists, the disused industrial sectors offered advantages over typical office buildings: they had a lower building density, more open spaces for the creation, storage and display of art works and were served by convenient downtown transportation. The industrial heritage and

²² It was named after its location, No.50 Moganshan Road. The official name was "Chunming Art Industrial Park". See Appendix I for details of M50.

the historical downtown also added value aesthetically in the process of artistic creation. For many artists, the presence of working and living within these history-rich locations, awoke nostalgia and brought about artistic inspiration to their works. Lastly and most importantly, the disused warehouses provided cheap and affordable working and dwelling places for artists and their galleries. As more and more artists gathered in Shanghai, the newly shaped art districts became comparable with New York's SoHo²³, as local icons of fashion and urban rejuvenation.

As the art market grew and matured, these new “art factories” became the focus of other tertiary industries and supporting enterprises like galleries, art entertainment centers, ateliers, design companies, and even leisure venues. They gathered around the art districts for the advantage of joint marketing, exchange of ideas, shared information, a common customer base and even partnerships. With this creative partnership in place, art districts could provide not only opportunities but communal support and protection as well to the vulnerable individual artists and freelancers (who often lacked business acumen) by linking them with social networks and the market. Random field investigation in selected art factories²⁴ showed that many artists felt a greater sense of belonging by participating in the art scene from within the “art factories”. As a result, Shanghai's “art factories” continued to grow rapidly from the late 1990s, thus transforming the urban industrial landscape.

²³ SoHo (“south of Houston Street”) is a famous art neighborhood in the New York City.

²⁴ Source comes from the random interviews conducted among artists by author in August 2007 and Jan 2008 in four selected art factories (Tian Zi Fang, Tong Le Fang, M50, Bridge No.8).

Suzhou Creek waterfront was the earliest gathering place of these spontaneously emerging downtown art factories. With its large number of disused warehouses and workshops concentrating along the river, it fostered numerous famous art districts such as M50 and West Suzhou Road warehouse, which became home to a number of well-known Chinese artists. Soon, art factories began to spread in other downtown industrial districts, like the Huangpu riverfront, accelerating the process of gentrification and renewal to the cityscape.

However the path of artistic redevelopment was not always smooth and conflicts existed between the official government plan and real estate interests during the development of these art districts. No. 1131 warehouse²⁵ was one such case. It was a half-timbered warehouse with a nice view to Suzhou Creek, built in early 1920s²⁶ and was highly influenced by British architectural features at the time. In the year 2000, it was discovered and lovingly restored by Chinese painter Ding Yi, as a workspace for art studios and the famous Eastlink Gallery. Zhu and Tang (2002 Jul 18) However, the artist-led reclamation and reuse was not accepted by the government who had planned to redevelop the deserted waterfront site into a public park and driveway to serve a nearby high-rise residential block. Unfortunately, real estate speculation and political interests overcame public opinion and the historic value in preserving the warehouse. Zhu and Tang (2002 Jul 18) mentioned that the estate developers even cut off water and electric supplies in an effort to drive the artists away. The artists were finally forced out of No.1131 and watched it as it was demolished on Sep 2002.

²⁵ The warehouse was located in No. 1131 West Suzhou Road, often called “small red house” in art circles. It was one of the earliest art warehouses in Shanghai.

²⁶ According to Zhu and Tang (2002 Jul 18), source from Shanghai Archive Bureau indicated that No.1131 warehouse was designed by a British Architect and built in 1921. The source was unconfirmed by author.

The suppression of art factories continued for years to come, and many famous studios were dismantled, like the Bizart Art Center in West Huaihai Road, previously known as the “Shanghai Leather-making Machinery Factory”. This occurred all over the country²⁷ and provoked strong resistance from the grass roots. In Shanghai, more and more art studios and galleries spearheaded the art factory resistance movement and began to resettle in downtown factories and warehouses. They formed the core of a strong collective voice echoed by artists, urban planners, scholars, and even citizens, to call for the preservation of these invaluable industrial heritage and urban cultural assets.

Teng Kun Yen (a Taiwanese architect) was one of the earliest and more influential preservationists. Based in Shanghai, he was fascinated by the city’s rich history, architecture and culture. He never stopped lobbying for the preservation of urban industrial heritage and art districts in Shanghai and made significant inroads in changing the Government’s attitude. In early 1990s, he discovered No.1305 warehouse²⁸ beside Suzhou Creek (Figure 2) and restored the 60-year-old warehouse as his own studio²⁹. It was said that he paid a price, in the excitement of finding the house, he suffered a mishap and fell down the tumbledown wooden stairs and broke his legs (Teng 2006, p.16). However, Teng was not satisfied with the only house he rented, he proposed an exciting concept plan to protect the countless precious old warehouses along Suzhou Creek and rebuild them into art and cultural districts. His intense lobbying for the

²⁷ For example, the demolition of Xiaoguwei Art Village in Guangzhou. It was a famous large-scale art district, demolished by the local government in 2004.

²⁸ The warehouse is located in No.1305 South Suzhou Road, overlooking Suzhou Creek.

²⁹ Dayang Architecture Studio.

preservation of these cultural and historical artifacts received tremendous support both in Shanghai and internationally. Such appeal and criticism on the government's policy of demolition in urban renewal gradually pushed the Chinese Government to review and finally change its urban policy. In 2004, No.1305 warehouse won the UNESCO³⁰ Asian-Pacific Heritage Award. It was also included in the government's preservation list as one of Shanghai's leading cultural creative sites (Figure 3).³¹



Figure 3: No.1305 Warehouse, South Suzhou Road

³⁰ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

³¹ See Appendix II, the No. 1305 warehouse was the 71th authorized creative cluster by SCIC (Shanghai Creative Industry Center).



Figure 4: The refurbished balcony of No. 1305 Warehouse in the night view

Source: (Teng 2006, p.25)

Meanwhile, another group of artists and urban scholars were also fighting to preserve the newly burgeoned art factories from demolition. Many artists who failed in protecting No. 1131 warehouse moved to M50. As more artists (mostly painters) joined in, the old spinning mill became a famous gathering place for artist studios and galleries. However, soon after, the government declared a new urban scheme to demolish M50 and replace with new high-rise housing blocks. This triggered the battle between artists (scholars) and the local authorities.

One of the involved urban scholars, Han Yu Qi³² recalled, “in May 2003 the break of SARS³³ had temporarily stopped all the demolition projects, we needed such a time to do something before the bulldozers started to dismantle the buildings in M50.” (Han 2006, p.52) Before the new planning proposal had time to restart, the scholars and artists spontaneously commissioned a survey, investigating the precious historical cultural value of M50. A conservation plan

³² Han was a professor of Shanghai Institute of Technology.

³³ Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome.

and report on the whole historical Moganshan block was thereafter completed and delivered to the mayor's office. It finally worked. The government stopped the controversial project and decided on preserving M50. Tian'an Group, the original developer of Moganshan block, who planned to build a high-rise housing complex over M50, had to stop the project before it was implemented. According to the new government planning policy of Suzhou Creek, high-rise buildings were forbidden to be built close to the river bank. M50 art district was thus preserved as part of the large riverfront green open spaces in Moganshan block.

The phenomena of M50 and other emerging art factories necessitated the subsequent urban research and social investigations among professionals, and raised the public's consciousness of heritage preservation. Ruan Yi San, a professor in the Architecture Department of Tongji University, conducted a number of researches, calling on the conservation of urban historical sites and featured art districts. In 2004, he led a NRCHC³⁴ group that investigated Taikang Road historical district and proposed several conservation plans for the Tian Zi Fang art district. Increasingly, more and more scholars, politicians, citizens and artists (like the famous painter Chen Danqing) expressed their support of art factory development through different channels. This wide spread show of public support gradually changed the negative official attitude towards art factories.

³⁴ National Research Center of Historic Cities (NRCHC) is an academic institution that organized by Tongji University and the Ministry of Construction, undertaking research, educational and consultative commissions on urban historical sites and cultural heritages.

2.2.2 The Planned Development Process: New Roles of Government, Institutions and Estate Developers

Governments and Institutions: Official Supports and Government-led Development

Shanghai's art factory development was propelled by the government's environmental improvements and industrial restructuring measures of the late 1990s. For instance, artists were attracted to M50 only after the 1998's Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation Project. Similarly, before Taikang Road was cleaned up in the same year, few artists has gathered in the block near the dirty, chaotic and jumbled cheap markets. Tong Le Fang³⁵ was also a by-product of the top-down renovation on the old messy district. Initially driven by significant income derived from real estate interests and the need to improve public housing needs, the government had ignored historical conservation and suppressed the art factory development. It finally changed its stance after years of intense public scrutiny and lobbying. In 2002 Shanghai Municipal People's Congress passed a regulation to protect the post-industrial heritage sites³⁶. Many existing art factories like M50 and Suzhou Creek warehouse belt were included in its preservation list. Other governmental agencies, such as Shanghai Urban Planning Administration Bureau, also began to show support to the new development.

However, rather than developing the non-profitable art districts, the government channeled its efforts to encourage profit motivated "creative districts" or "cultural districts" to replace the ailing industrial clusters. With a strategic target to develop creative industry for a competitive advantage, the government

³⁵ Please see Appendix I for the detailed development processes of the mentioned art districts (M50, Tian Zi Fang and Tong Le Fang).

³⁶ On 25 July 2002, the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress discussed and enacted the *Shanghai Municipality Regulation regarding Protection of Historical and Cultural Scenic Spots and Excellent Historic Architecture*, see Chapter 4 for details and other official preservation regulations.

commissioned the economic sectors to facilitate the art factory development whilst setting up some official organizations such as SCIC³⁷ and CCIA³⁸ to manage the newly formed creative districts. Art factories were then directed into the official “creative industry” system under the government’s management. For example, the spontaneously shaped Tian Zi Fang and M50 were all supervised by SCIC and the street committees. Together with other famous art factories (Tong Le Fang, the Bridge 8, etc.) they were listed in the first group of 18 creative clusters in 2004.³⁹

Supported by the government and bolstered by encouraging measures, art factories not only survived but flourished, leading to even more new creative projects in Shanghai’s downtown: such as Shanghai Sculpture Space, 2577 Creative Park and 1933 Old Millfun. Until April 2008, a total number of 75 such creative clusters⁴⁰ (including many reused factories and some newly built projects) were approved and scattered throughout the city.

In many instances, the government did not only change their strategies to support art factories, but also began to take the lead to shape their development. The district governments, who were especially keen to increase the number of creative clusters in their own territory, began to play the roles of developers and managers in art factories.

³⁷ Shanghai Creative Industry Center was approved by Shanghai Economic Committee and established on November 2004, as an official organization of Shanghai’s creative industry. Please see Chapter 4 for details of SCIC.

³⁸ Created in China Industrial Alliance.

³⁹ Please refer to SCIC’s website (<http://www.scic.gov.cn/show/index.htm>) or Appendix II for the lists of the four groups of creative clusters.

⁴⁰ See the list of 75 clusters in Appendix II.

Generally, government-led art factory development can be broadly classified under two directions: the government-sponsored development and the co-development led by government and non-profit institutions.

- Government-sponsored Development

At the end of 2004, Jing'an District Government established Tong Le Fang Cultural Development Co. Ltd. and a Development & Construction Management Committee for Tong Le Fang project. It was perhaps the first art factory built directly by the government. Following the “government-led, market-oriented and agency serving” (Lou 2006 July 06, p.5) principles, the project secured a great deal of investment to restore the post-industrial sites and attracted many world-famous galleries, fashion clubs and design companies. The project's lease would last for fifteen years, after which Tong Le Fang will be converted into a public park.

Shanghai Sculpture Space⁴¹ was another such government-sponsored initiative. Previously known as Shanghai No. 10 Steel Factory, it was rebuilt in 2005 by Chang'ning District Government into a public art and sculpture exhibition center. The government risked capital loss and invested 50 million Yuan to build the non-profit public cultural facilities. It planned to get rental returns from the commercial developments in the next phase of the project (Red Town).

⁴¹ It was also named “Red Town” or officially “New No. 10 Steel Factory”.

The government-led art factory development followed the “three remains and five changes”⁴² guideline: in the adaptive reuse of post-industrial sites and buildings, the property right, building structure and land use remained the same as before, while the business type, employment, ways of management, enterprises and the company culture were changed.

- Co-development led by Government and Non-profit Institutions

Under the co-development scheme, The “Design Factory” (previously known as Shanghai Bakery Factory) was restored and co-developed by Xuhui District Government and Shanghai Normal University as a “production, education and research base”⁴³ (Shanghai Economic Commission and Shanghai Creative Industry Center 2005, p.120) in fine arts and industrial design.

In a similar manner, the Chang’ning District Government cooperated with China Fashion Design Association in the restoration project of Shanghai Clutch Factory, recreating it into the current “Shanghai Fashion Hub” creative district (Figure 4).

In this type of developments, the government played an intermediary role responsible for the allocation of resources and the promoting of cooperation between property owners and non-profit institutions (many were universities).

⁴² For the “Three remains and five changes” (“三个不变, 五个变”) guideline, see SCIC website: http://www.scic.gov.cn/cms/Article_Show.asp?ArticleID=196 [06 June 2008]

⁴³ It was translated from Chinese, originally “产 (production), 学 (education), 研 (research)”.

These institution-centric districts, like the architecture design district formed around Tongji University and the fashion design district near Donghua University, set the direction and tone of the creative talents and research program of the district (Shanghai Cultural Development Foundation 2006). The government would then support this direction by sponsoring related supportive industries and business types, such as the comic industry, movie making industry, and even high-tech industry, which deviated from the art-centric route.



Figure 5: Shanghai Fashion Hub (Fashion Industry Park)

Source: (Shanghai Economic Commission and Shanghai Creative Industry Center 2005, p.xi)

Estates and Investors: the Market-oriented Development

- Estate-invested Projects

As many disused industrial sites were located in the city center with convenient transportation and other commercial advantages, they had huge economic potential to be gained from rentals. Estate developer thus poured money into these disused sites in hopes of turning them into art factories.

Most restorative works involved the refurbishment of the buildings and public spaces. Once works were completed, the factories were then partitioned and sub-let to artists and design-related enterprises as working spaces.

The Bridge 8 was perhaps the most famous case⁴⁴. In 2003, Lifestyle Consulting Co., Ltd (Hong Kong) rented the workshops of Shanghai Automobile Brake Factory on a 20-year lease, and invested 40 million Yuan in updating the dilapidated post-industrial buildings. Designed by HMA Architects, the renovated factory was renamed “the Bridge 8” and attracted many world famous design companies and artist studios. It was aptly summed up by Lou (2006 July 06) as a “win-win” situation: the government benefited from high revenue and preserved its historical cityscape, while the estate developer enjoyed a fifteen-year-long income-generating period of which, full investment returns were reached in the first five years.

- Individual -led Investment

Estate developers and the government were not the only ones who jumped into the “art factory” bandwagon. As earlier mentioned, many art factory projects were often initiated by individual artists, who managed to find private backing (even private capital) for the redevelopment project. For example, Hong Kong artist Lin Liang was the initiator of Zhou Jia Qiao and E Warehouse projects, and in 2001, an architect Liu Ji Dong rebuilt the

⁴⁴ See Appendix I for details of the Bridge 8.

Sihang-Guang'er⁴⁵ Warehouse into his studio. Similarly, Binjiang Creative Park was also an individual-led project. Sponsored by Teng Kun Yen, a former old auxiliary machinery power plant was rebuilt into the Binjiang (Huangpu Riverfront) Creative Park.

With the out pouring of capital investments into old industrial sites, effective management, governmental support and formation of cooperatives, old post-industrial buildings and districts have gradually become famous design centers and vastly changing the cultural and industrial landscape of Shanghai.

2.2.3 Summary: Different Development Modes

Based on above discussions, we can summarize the different development modes into the following table (Table 1):

⁴⁵ Sihang-Guang'er Warehouse (四行仓库光二分库), also called "the Creative Warehouse", is different from Sihang Warehouse (四行仓库). Some reports often mistake the two.

| Driving forces | Development Modes | | Ways of Lease | Management | Cases |
|-----------------|---|--|---|---|---|
| Market-oriented | Spontaneous Occupation by Artists | | Rent separately by individual artists or small enterprises | Property owners | No. 1131 Warehouse, Tian Zi Fang, M50 |
| | Redeveloped by Real Estates and Investors | Estate-invested Projects | Developers rent the whole premises and sub-let to individual artists or small enterprises | Estate developers | the Bridge 8, 1933 Old Millfun, X2 |
| | | Individual-led Investment | | Individual developers or management companies | Zhou Jia Qiao, Sihang-Guang'er Warehouse, Binjiang Creative Park, E Warehouse |
| Government-led | | Government-sponsored Development | Developers rent the whole premises and sub-let to individual artists or small enterprises | Government or government-commissioned companies | Tong Le Fang, Shanghai Sculpture Space |
| | | Co-development led by Government and Non-profit Institutions | Developers rent the whole premises, either sub-let to others or used only by the institutions | Institutions (or institutions and the government) | Design Factory, Shanghai Fashion Hub |

Table 1: Different development modes of Shanghai's art factories

Although sharing a similar social background of market economy and urban de-industrialization, Shanghai's art factories were developed on different tracks and scales. Artists' spontaneous occupation marked the emergence of a new approach to redevelop urban post-industrial space in China. Government led or supported initiatives made creating large scale and comprehensive rejuvenation possible with the development of creative districts. Lastly, private capital and investors were also allowed into the art factory market as either private backers or cooperatives.

It should be pointed out that there were no clear boundaries between the above different development modes; government-led developments often invited private investors and estates to participate in, like in Tong Le Fang, while many market-oriented projects were still largely dependent on the government for support. This was because none of the companies were able to completely deal with the intricate problems of land ownership, residents, future urban planning and provision of infrastructural support. In the private estate investment project of “1933 Old Millfun”, Hongkou District Government spent nearly 300 million Yuan in relocating the neighborhood residents. Teng Kun Yen’s Binjiang Creative Park (an individual-led project) was also impossible to be realized if Yangpu District Government was not supportive and negotiated on their behalf with the landowners. Even the spontaneously formed art clusters, like Tian Zi Fang, although private-financed worked but relied strongly on government supports in order to provide public services, improve nearby infrastructure and re-plan the areas for the development of the art district.

The following diagrams of the development modes (Figure 5) will further reveal the different transformation processes of art factories and how the social interest groups involved interacted in order to preserve and redevelop the post-industrial sites:

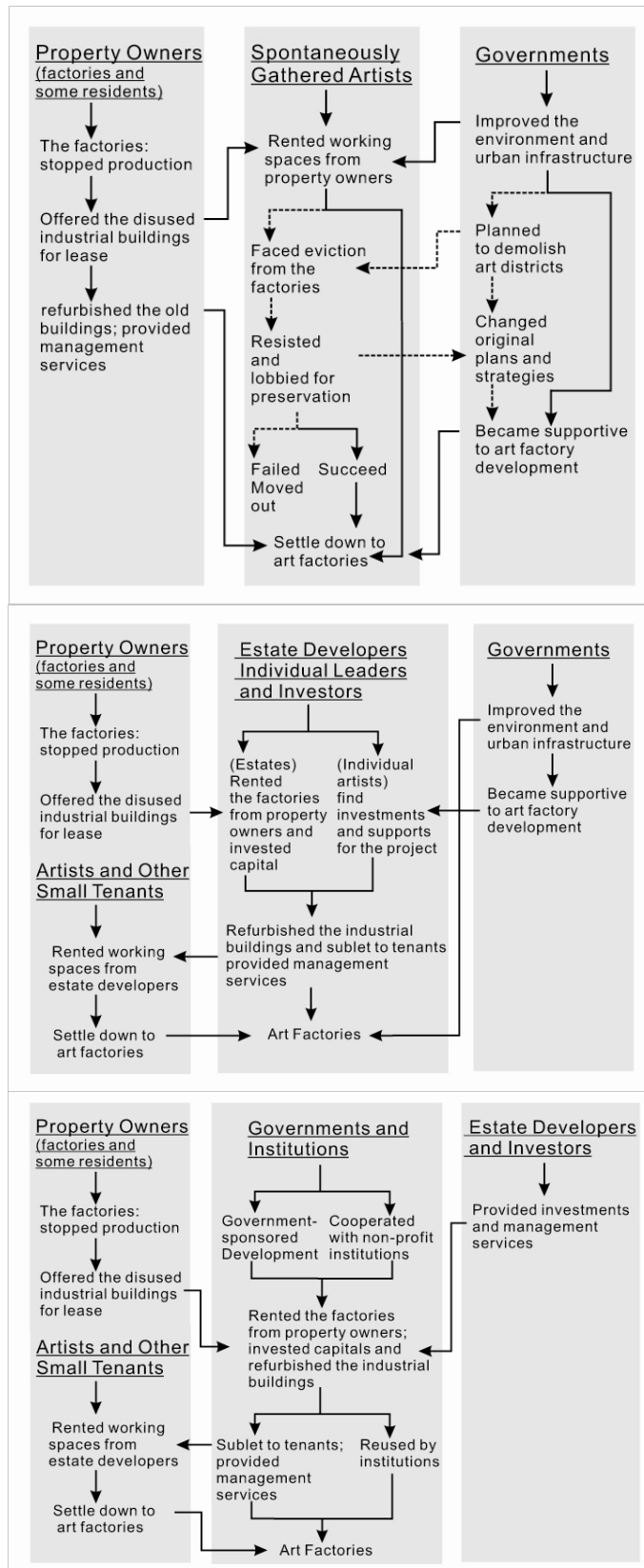


Figure 6: Three development modes of art factories: Spontaneous Mode, Estate developer-led Mode and Government-centric Mode

2.3 The Art Factory Dilemma: Commercialization and Resistance

2.3.1 Escalating Rent, Commercialized Art Space and the Migrant Artists

There are many reasons for artists to move from one art factory to another, for example, pressure from government and estate developers. While the artists from No. 1131 Warehouse were able to secure M50 as their new haven with support from the government, others were not as lucky and were not included in the government's preservation list. At other times, the government's plans were changing so fast that the decision makers could demolish an art district right after they promised to preserve it. Lou stated that for art factories "the future is still uncertain"(2004 Aug 17, p.16) because of the temptation of potentially huge returns to be gained from real estate. Even after M50 and Tian Zi Fang were established as protected art districts, estate developers were still trying to persuade the government to demolish the two art factories and start new planning schemes in the downtown (Ibid). To make room for these new plans, many nameless warehouses and blighted art districts were purposefully undervalued by estate owners and dismantled in the name of urban regeneration. As a result, artists were forced to migrate constantly, many moving along Suzhou Creek from one warehouse to another. As an anonymous painter who finally settled in M50 after seven moves declared, "we are nomads...we were driven out from our studios by new urban master plans again and again, but cannot help it because we are just tenants, not decision makers."⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Source comes from the author's informal interview on the anonymous painter on August 2008 during the field investigation.

Rising rent was another important issue which forced artists to migrate. Once dirty, deserted and cheap post-industrial sites quickly transformed into “a turned over salty fish”⁴⁷, becoming expensive as estate owners took advantage of increasing interests. When Chinese painter Ding Yi firstly moved to No.1131 Warehouse in year 2000 he needed only to pay 0.3 Yuan/sqm per day for his studio, but the price soon doubled as famous galleries like ShanghART and Eastlink Gallery moved in. Tang (2006) reported that the newly renovated Sihang Warehouse, a former old dilapidated warehouse beside Suzhou Creek, had rental rates that were 30% higher than nearby office buildings. As M50 became more famous with time and the surrounding infrastructure were improved, rental rates escalated to 3 Yuan/sqm per day, almost ten times of its earliest rent. This figure was easily topped by Bridge 8, widely touted as “the most expensive creative district” in Shanghai with an average rent of 6 Yuan/sqm per day (Fan 2006 Aug 30, p.C6). However, as new art districts were developed and Shanghai’s housing price was trending upwards, the princely figure and record was broken by Red Town⁴⁸, a newly developed creative center, which rented for 7 Yuan/sqm per day. Many artists running studios in Red Town complained that the rent they were paying was several times higher than nearby commercial centers (Tang 2006, p.34).The high rental rates gradually led to a general lost in enthusiasm for creative districts.

De Muijnck (2007) described the change in rentals as a “pretty standard” worldwide process: “art districts, when successful, move towards expensive rents and quick changes in tenants.” (Ibid, p.12-13) Property owners and developers

⁴⁷ The Chinese proverb “咸鱼翻身(a turned over salty fish)” means a bad situation is totally improved or standing up from failure.

⁴⁸ Red Town was part of the Shanghai Sculpture Space, planned for art and creative businesses.

could not be blamed for asking for higher rentals. They had invested a great deal in improving infrastructure and quality of the environment. Also, rental increases for art factories were market driven. With the increase in demand from galleries, studios and design companies, rentals had to match with supply and demand. As rental rates soared, art factories became unaffordable for grassroots artists who were not established enough and were soon excluded from the art factory community. “I cannot refurbish my studio”, said a young painter in M50, “the rent was rising fast but I don’t have fixed income.” (Tang 2006, p.34) Many artists like him were thus forced by circumstances to move to other cheaper, undeveloped factory sites.

Besides the problem of rising rent, artists themselves began to reject the increasingly commercialized atmosphere of art factories. Many famous artists left the studios and galleries in art factories for elsewhere, to search for a peaceful art space conducive for their artistic explorations. M50, one of the first shaped art districts, was even viewed as “a disaster” today⁴⁹, a victim of rampant commercialism. As the art factory became more well-known, it quickly filled up with galleries, design companies and artists who were only interested in cashing on its growing popularity. The art factory ceased to become a place for artistic creation but rather a place to market art as a business.

As art factories became increasingly commercialized, Food and entertainment services gradually became the norm. Art factories were transformed into high-class markets and tourist destinations. For example, Tong Le Fang

⁴⁹ In the interview of some gallery owners they mentioned several times that M50 had become “a disaster” because of the commercialization of the place.

became so commercialized that the former manufacturing site is now filled with restaurants, retails, cafés, bars and other forms of entertainment. Although it still retained some art galleries, studios and a nice theatre, it is criticized widely as individual grassroots artists were not accepted in the first place.

Official classification of art factories no longer served as an accurate indicator of artistic activities as rampant commercialism blurred the line. Regardless whether art factories were categorized as “commercialized art district” like M50 or “artistic commercial district” like Tong Le Fang, they were no longer purely about art.

As the mass migration continued, migrant artists discovered other new art factories along the Shanghai waterfront, for example, some of the artists from M50 moved to the preserved Suzhou Creek warehouse belt⁵⁰. Meanwhile, many others had given up their search along the over-commercialized waterfront areas and turned to 696 Weihai Road (Figure 6).

Shanghai No. 5 Radio Parts Factory, located at No.696 Weihai Road in downtown business district⁵¹, was an ideal art space recently discovered by migrating artists. Hidden in a small, narrow Linong alley, the dilapidated workshops gradually became populated with artists from the year 2006 onwards (Figure 7). It has now gathered over 30 artist studios involved in a wide range of mediums from painting, sculpture, photography, graphic design, to performance and the film arts. However, just as the artistic community began to take root again,

⁵⁰ The government established a cultural preservation zone along Suzhou Creek from Wuzhen Road Bridge to Zhejiang Road Bridge as there were many warehouses reused by artists, see Chapter 4 for details.

⁵¹ This part of Jing'an District was the central area of Shanghai's business zones.

news abound that 696 Weihai Road was to be demolished. In response to the news, some artists chose to give up altogether the downtown art districts like 696 Weihai Road and started to look for a place in outer suburbs like Hongqiao and Yangpu District.

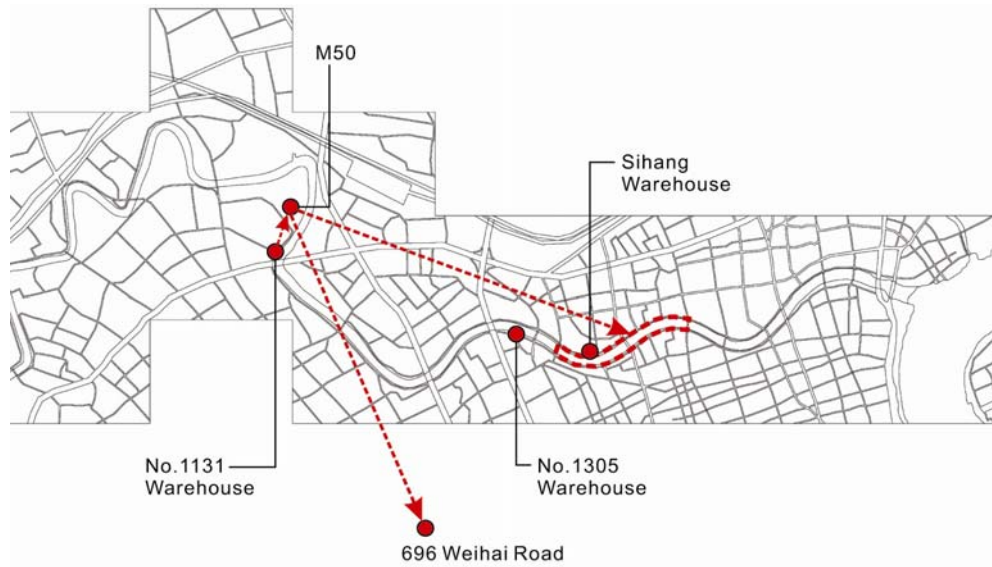


Figure 7: Some artists' migratory routes: moving into M50 and outside from M50



Figure 8: New art district: No. 696 Weihai Road

2.3.2 The “Creative Parks” in Crisis

In the past few years, government-sponsored adaptive reuse and redevelopment art initiatives became widely criticized for their over emphasis on economic outputs and ignoring the value of art. In an official report edited by China Creative Industry Research Center (Zhang 2006), it was admitted that the creative industry theory and practice was quite “unclear” that the government-led developments were questionable, and there lacked a “long-term focus and integrated plan” (Ibid, p.240-241). Most of the 75 established “Creative Parks” or “Creative Clusters”⁵² were just non-art office buildings or business centers. The Shanghai Economic Committee was in charge of the creative district development, as reported, “in this battle, the government (economic committee) was the guiding force, enterprises were the leading majorities and the market was the foundation.” (Liu 2005, p.41) It was also stated that “state funding does not exist in China for ‘creative entrepreneurs’, artists, designers, intermediary agencies, etc” (Rossiter 2006, p.369), as a result, capital pursuits were inevitable in Shanghai’s art factory development. It was even becoming a form of competition for different district governments on the number of creative clusters. The government “tried to be the guiding force to make it successful, dealing with something they have no idea about” and as a result, taking the development of art factories to “undesirable directions” (De Muynck 2007, p.12).

Meanwhile, a number of government-guided creative districts suffered a loss in their businesses. They lack the economic and cultural advantages as compared against spontaneously formed art factories. Tang (2006) reported many

⁵² See Appendix II for the list of 75 creative clusters.

unsuccessful cases whereby the government invested a great deal in refurbishing old buildings as new art centers. Many were rejected by artists and design companies. Newly developed creative districts were no longer attractive because they had shut the door to grassroots artists who were initially attracted to the downtown by low rents and a less restricted art atmosphere. In addition, unlike the spontaneously formed art factories, government and privately managed art districts lacked a sense of community and belonging, which is critical for artistic creation. Lastly, for the common citizens, government-run art districts could not contribute towards enhancement of the community as they lacked a sense of publicness. They could neither produce vibrant culture-related activities nor create artistic and fashionable images or atmospheres.

In summary, it is necessary to reconsider and compare the spontaneous and planned development modes, as well as their subsequent implications to the city. The government may need to take a more supportive role to provide economic support (like funding or other backups) to art factories rather than to actively manage them. Tolerance is also required in urban policy and planning scheme and ideally, there should be some free, undisturbed, and uncontrolled space left outside the planned urban framework for “nomad artists” and their artistic havens to exist.

Chapter Three: Spatial Regeneration: a Compendium of Case Studies

3.1 Introduction: Determinants for the Spatial Transformation

Focusing on the transformation of physical public space, spatial characters and activities, this chapter will introduce and analyze the main spaces of four selected art factories, namely M50, Tian Zi Fang, Tong Le Fang and the Bridge 8. These four downtown cases have undergone distinctive spatial and functional changes due to various influencing factors such as their locations, their planning proposals, and the ways they are reused (Table 2). The detailed introduction of the determinants of these four art factories (maps, figures, history, statistics, etc.) will be compiled in Appendix I⁵³, not only as a source of background information for contextualized spatial studies, but also for an important reference for further analysis.

| Determinants for Spatial Transformation | | M50 | Tian Zi Fang | Tong Le Fang | The Bridge 8 |
|---|-------------------------------------|-----|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Physical Context | Site Location | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| | Land Subdivision & Ownership | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| | Built Environment | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| | Environment | ■ | | | |
| | Industrial Context | ■ | ■ | ■ | |
| Social Context | Social/Urban Change | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| | Ways of Regeneration | | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| | Neighborhoods Involvement | | ■ | | |
| Planning Context | Upgrading Project and Site Planning | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |

Table 2: Major determinants for the spatial transformation of the four cases

⁵³ Some maps or illustrations in Appendix I as background information will not be included in the main text.

Each of the above ten factors must have influenced (and interacted with) each other during the development of art factories, leading to spatial transfiguration and different spatial utilization. For instance, the industrial buildings in Tong Le Fang art district were added piecemeal over years. They were not structurally strong and are currently in a dilapidated condition. Added to this, the triangular industrial site was subdivided among many land owners which made it difficult to develop as a whole. It was difficult for artists to reuse the buildings, and no estate developer could afford to invest capital on the site without the support from the local government. Only a government- planned scheme would be able to provide incentive for the re-development and production of better spaces. Besides, its downtown location is juxtaposed with vibrant commercial districts. This had encouraged the subsequent commercialization, spatial innovations and new consumption pattern. It is a very obvious instance to illustrate how land subdivision, its location, situation and built environment could result in different public spaces and utilization of spaces in an art factory.

In contrast to Tong Le Fang, M50 kept the original spatial layout because of its spontaneous way of regeneration. It was formerly owned by a state-owned spinning mill rather than many small owners. This made it possible to lease out the industrial land and buildings easily. Most of the industrial buildings were in a sound state with multi-layered, large, and spacious interiors that were suitable for artist studios and galleries. In addition, the quiet, undisturbed surroundings as well as the historic cultural values of the waterfront site attracted artists from around the world. The industrial buildings in M50 were also preserved as cultural heritage.

In comparison to Tong Le Fang, its spatial layout did not change considerably and it had different spatial images and site functions.

The social and urban changes that followed the urban regeneration of post-industrial sites in turn generated new urban dynamics. The new agenda of the socialist market economy encouraged new service industries to take the place of the past manufacturing zones in downtown area, so that a huge work unit may be divided and occupied by several small enterprises. The historical context also played an important role in the spatial reconfiguration. For example, the wide spatial diversity of Tian Zi Fang was deeply entrenched in its historical context as it was a part of the French Concession's industrial zones in Shanghai during the 1930s. With a spatial proximity to the north bank of Huangpu River (where many huge factories concentrated), dozens of small Linong factories emerged in Taikang Road block. There were many architectural types and features, like original Chinese settlement, French style housing, markets, roadside shops and factories. In the 1940s, many artists began to gather in Taikang Road block, such as the renowned painter Wang Yachen. A diverse spatial pattern and rich cultural diversity were thus formed in the area.

The following chart (Figure 8) summarizes all these determinants and the implications they have had on the re-organized space, new functions and spatial practices of art factories as it is in its present circumstances.

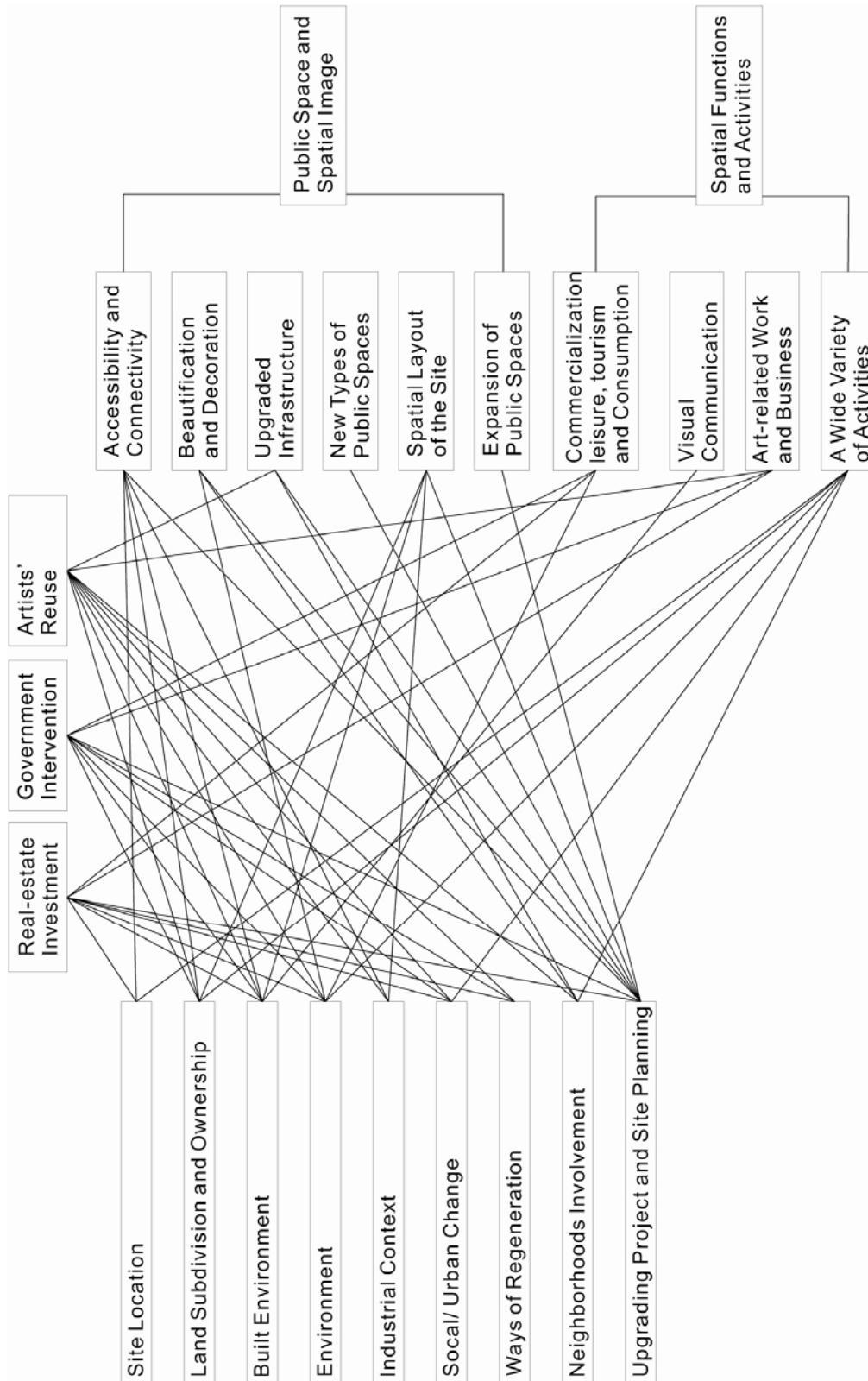


Figure 9: The determinants and influencing factors of the transformation of spaces, spatial activities and new functions

3.2 Spatial Transformation, New Spaces and Practices of the “Art Factories”

3.2.1 Rebuilding the Order: A New Spatial Layout

Many historical industrial sites in Shanghai have experienced widespread spatial changes since their heydays in the first half of the twentieth century. The old, derelict workshops were disassembled over the time, and new warehouses, workshops, and even residential areas were added incrementally to the site. This had resulted in a lot of changes in the spatial layouts of the site. Among the four case studies, this gradual transformation was more obvious in M50 (Figure 9) and Tong Le Fang. It is not only because they have a longer history (they are both dated back to the 1920-1930s) than the other two cases, but also due to their diverse architectural styles, usages, large number of buildings and smaller size of each spatial area.

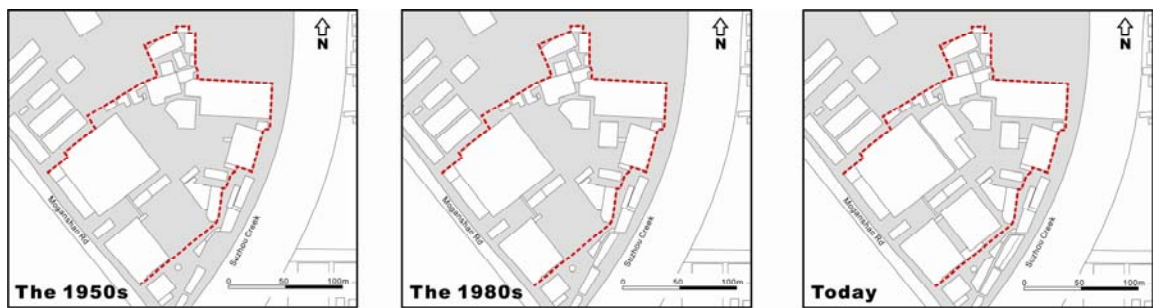


Figure 10: Historic spatial layout transformation of Xinhe Spinning Mill (M50) since the mid 20th century

The spatial transfiguration accelerated in recent years when manufacturing was moving out of the downtown and the disused post-industrial districts were gradually occupied by the art industry. This led to the enhancement of the spatial quality of post-industrial sites. At first, the artist tenants refurbished the old building interiors into loft studios. They also improved the basic infrastructure of

the factory, however, without much intention to make any drastic changes in spatial configurations, like in Tian Zi Fang (Figure 10) and M50. As art factories became popular and developed into a large scale movement, post-industrial sites were not only reused according to their existing spatial settings, but many design innovations also started influencing them.



Figure 11: Tian Zi Fang

Gradually, the government, estate developers and architects begin to play important roles and this marked the new epoch in art factory development. In cases of Tong Le Fang and the Bridge 8, new designing concept and renovation plans were made for high-density and sweatshop-filled industrial sites. They aimed to preserve the original “nostalgic industrial details” while bringing in with them new modern image. In Tong Le Fang redevelopment project, the architects wanted to recover the original industrial image as well as to preserve some historical details of the 1950s (Shen and Wang 2007) before they began to dismantle the dilapidated and useless parts of the buildings and build new spatial orders. With an aim to create a better environment for art practices, the design interventions often took the following measures to reshape the art factory spaces:

- (a) Building or reinforcing gates and fences of the territory;
- (b) Dismantling the dilapidated and unusable buildings (or constructions) to create ground-level open spaces;
- (c) Erecting new buildings on the site;
- (d) Rebuilding or refurbishing old and dilapidated buildings (or constructions) without dismantlement;
- (e) Creating or widening the entrances, roads, alleys and roofed passageways;
- (f) Upgrading infrastructure and landscapes (including landmarks, road pavement, benches, parking lots, street lamps, signs, guiding boards, plants, fountains, sculptures, etc.);
- (g) Creating roof gardens as upper-level public spaces;
- (h) Connecting adjacent buildings by overpasses, corridors, balconies or roof gardens.

Case Studies-Tong Le Fang⁵⁵: A New Spatial Order (Figure 11)

Before Jing'an District government launched its Tong Le Fang redevelopment project in 2004, the industrial site was made up of dozens of micro-scope Linong factories⁵⁶ built over many years. In the map of 1940s, the site was quite congested: there were large numbers of low-rise workshops that were built side by side, leaving very narrow public spaces and north-south alleys. The site patterns remained until the 1980s and 90s, when the west and southeast

⁵⁵ Tong Le Fang and the Bridge 8 were chosen as case studies here. They are both representative cases for the spatial transformation led by design interventions. The other two cases (Tian Zi Fang, M50) do not have obvious spatial pattern changes when transforming into art factories.

⁵⁶ An early and popular style of small-scale factories in Shanghai in the 1920s-50s, usually mixed with Linong housing in a residential block.

corners⁵⁷ were “eroded” by slab housing and office buildings. Gradually due to the change in land ownership they were separated from the industrial site by walls. The rest of the parts in the center of the site were undeveloped, congested and mostly damaged till 2004 when the redevelopment plan finally changed the site pattern.

In Tong Le Fang project, most industrial buildings were preserved except for ten unusable workshops that were dismantled (Hai 2005). The narrow central space was widened; three new squares and more north-south alleys were built. The travelling routes were also rearranged, and more entrances were added on the three streets surrounding the site.

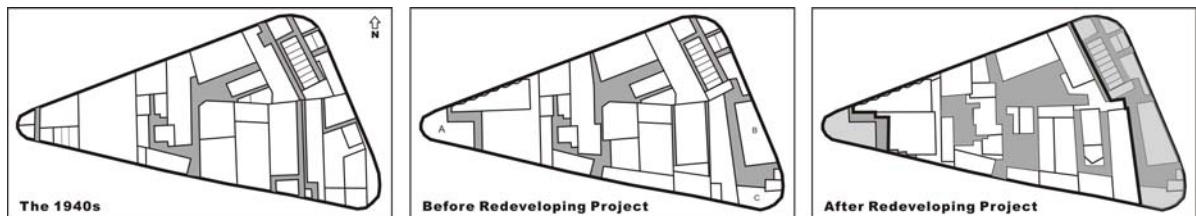


Figure 12: Spatial transformation of Tong Le Fang since the 1940s

Case Studies-the Bridge 8: The Interconnected Space

The Bridge 8’s spatial transformation was characterized by its connectivity. The former Shanghai Automobile Brake Factory located in Central Jianguo Road had rows of large workshops built since 1950s. In the redevelopment project in 2005, the basic spatial configuration of the site was kept intact: none of the workshops were dismantled, but they were refurbished and connected to each other by constructing overbridges, corridors and passageways. In Phase I of the

⁵⁷ See Corner A, B, and C in the map of Fig 11.

project, a long inner leisure street and several lanes connected ground-level public spaces like the atriums and backyards together, and the overpasses and corridors connected the eight workshops on the upper level., thus a public platform was provided for the art community. It was described as a finger-shaped public space system: buildings, bridges and open spaces were perfectly interconnected to each other in this art factory (Xue and Peng 2006).

In Phase II of the project, another five-storey building was refurbished and reused on the opposite site of Phase I, which is across the street. A 29-meter-long “Bridge of Creativity” was constructed and completed in 2007 across Central Jianguo Road, linking the two opposite buildings that belonged to Phase I and II respectively (Figure 12). The overpass is seen as a landmark of Central Jianguo Road, and is probably the most important change made in the old factory. In comparison to Tong Le Fang, the design intervention in the Bridge 8 did not influence much of the basic spatial layout. This mirrors the different development strategies that were used in treating and reusing old industrial districts.



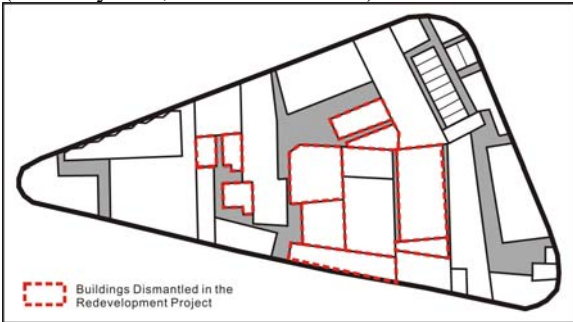





Figure 13: The “Bridge of Creativity” in the Bridge 8, linking two opposite buildings across the street



Summary

Most of the art factories did not undergo dramatic spatial changes. Some of the buildings were either dismantled or rebuilt, however the original spatial layouts was mostly the same. Many art factories had small changes in their spatial facilities, like the beautification of landscape, refurbishment of outer walls, the use of modern materials and improvements to infrastructure were introduced. Compared to the previously constructed enclosed manufacturing site, the art factories became easily accessible from the public streets. As the old industrial buildings were reused by artists, the whole cluster showed a welcoming gesture to the outside world, and the “edges”, described by Lynch (1960) as one of the five basic elements of spatial images, often became weak. A typical case was Tian Zi Fang, where even the semi-private residential alleys were less enclosed and they became tourist destinations. However, sometimes they still needed to build walls and clearly divide the art factory territories from their adjoining neighborhoods. Besides, more intimate spatial connections appeared in these new art factories: more public spaces were built with better accessibility, spaces and buildings were interconnected to encourage communication within the artist communities.

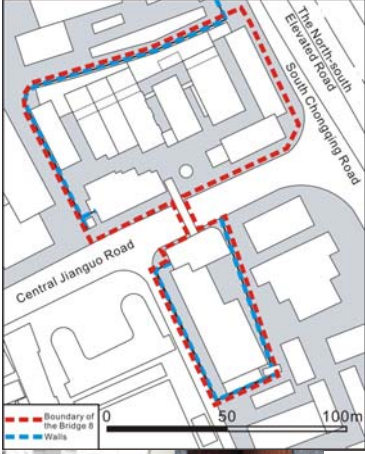


Case Studies: Tong Le Fang

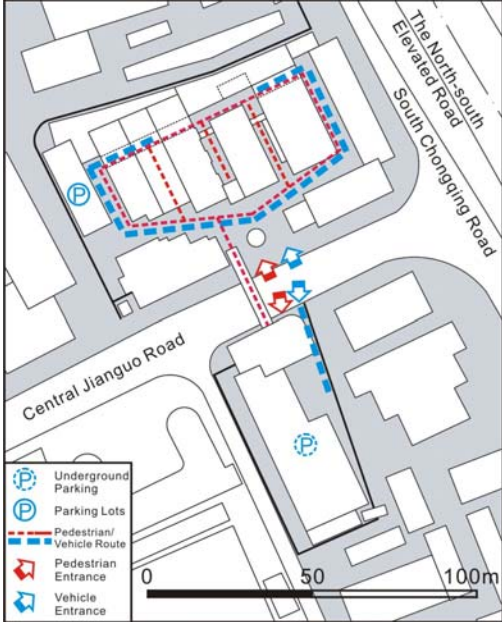


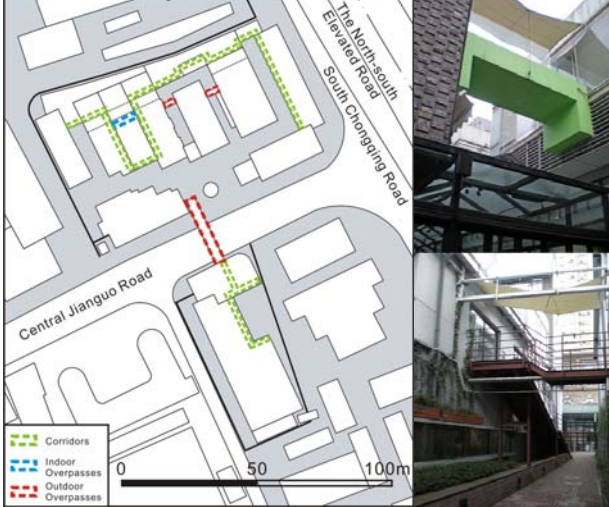
| Analysis on the Ways and Forms of Spatial Transformations – Tong Le Fang | | |
|--|--|---|
| Forms/ Ways of Spatial Change | Figures | Description |
| (a) Building or reinforcing gates and fences of the territory |  | In Tong Le Fang project, walls were built between the art factory and its Linong neighborhoods, in order to clearly divide the two areas. |
| (b) Dismantling the dilapidated and unusable buildings (or constructions) to create ground-level open spaces |  (Photo by Hee, Limin. Nov 2006)  <small>Buildings Dismantled in the Redevelopment Project</small> | About ten industrial buildings (almost half of the original buildings on the site) were dismantled, and new open spaces were created, including three new squares and a widened old square. |
| (c) Erecting new buildings on the site |  | A steel structured glass building was built in the middle of the site, where an old industrial building was dismantled. It was rebuilt according to the original architectural type of the dismantled building while using new materials. |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>(d) Rebuilding or refurbishing old and dilapidated buildings (or constructions) without dismantlement</p> |  | <p>Some original industrial features were preserved and combined with the new design principles of the building facades. The building interiors were also refurbished to meet the different needs of spaces.</p> |
| <p>(e) Creating or widening the entrances, roads, alleys and roofed passageways</p> |  | <p>Aside from two existing alley entrances, the project opened up some new entrances and created alleys that connected to the outside streets. Three roofed passageways became the new pedestrian entrances. Vehicles could enter through the main entrances to the squares.</p> |
| <p>(f) Upgrading infrastructure and landscapes</p> |  | <p>Iron and steel structure preserved as landmarks; posters, brick pavement; coffee seats; parking lots; awning; signs; guiding boards, etc.</p> |

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>(g) Creating roof gardens as upper-level public spaces</p> |  | <p>The existing roofs were refurbished and opened to the public as extended public spaces beyond the ground-level squares. A number of outdoor seating or dining facilities were provided by some restaurants and cafés. Sometimes the flat roofs were connected by stairs and corridors, and formed the upper-level public space system.</p> |
| <p>(h) Connecting adjacent buildings by overpasses, corridors, balconies or roof gardens</p> |  | <p>Some iron overpasses, including the old and newly built ones, connected the roof squares and adjacent buildings. They were re-painted and correspond to the new colors of buildings.</p> |

Case Studies: The Bridge 8

| Analysis on the Ways and Forms of Spatial Transformations – The Bridge 8 | | |
|---|--|--|
| Forms/ Ways of Spatial Change | Figures | Description |
| (a) Building or reinforcing gates and fences of the territory |   | <p>The previously built walls of the factory were kept in the Bridge 8 project. Besides, the enclosed spatial layout also made the art factory isolated from its surroundings, except for the only two existing entrances on Central Jianguo Road.</p> |
| (d) Rebuilding or refurbishing old and dilapidated buildings (or constructions) without dismantlement |  <p>(Photo Source: The Bridge 8 Website. http://www.bridge8.com/website/htmlcn/about_3.htm)</p> | <p>Grey bricks, glasses, steel, wood laths and wire nettings were used to decorate the façade of the former dilapidated workshops. Besides, the interiors were also rebuilt or updated for contemporary uses. For example, offices, galleries, exhibition halls and cafés.</p> |

| | | |
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| <p>(e) Creating or widening the entrances, roads, alleys and roofed passageways</p> |  <p>The map shows a street grid with Central Jianguo Road running horizontally and The North-south Elevated Road running vertically. A red dashed line indicates a pedestrian route, and a blue dashed line indicates a vehicle route. Red arrows point to pedestrian entrances, and blue arrows point to vehicle entrances. A legend identifies symbols for Underground Parking, Parking Lots, Pedestrian/Vehicle Route, Pedestrian Entrance, and Vehicle Entrance. A scale bar shows 0, 50, and 100m.</p> | <p>While the entrances, squares and alleys were inherited from the old factory, in Phase I project, a new inner street was built and passed connected several buildings and yards on the ground level. A pedestrian circuit was then created.</p> <p>In Phase II, an underground parking lot was built to separate vehicles and pedestrians.</p> |
| <p>(f) Upgrading infrastructure and landscapes</p> |  <p>The left photograph shows a modern building with a large, circular fountain in front. The right photograph shows a courtyard area with wooden benches, a covered walkway, and a building in the background.</p> | <p>The fountain at the entrance; brick roads; outdoor coffee seats in the leisure street; multistorey and underground parking space; guiding boards; the landmark “the Bridge of Creativity”, etc.</p> |
| <p>(g) Creating roof gardens as upper-level public spaces</p> |  <p>The left photograph shows a modern building with a glass facade. The right photograph shows a rooftop garden area with a building in the background.</p> | <p>Phase II: the unfinished roof gardens</p> |
| <p>(h) Connecting adjacent buildings by overpasses, corridors, balconies or roof gardens</p> |  <p>The map shows a street grid with Central Jianguo Road running horizontally and The North-south Elevated Road running vertically. A green dashed line indicates a corridor, a blue dashed line indicates an indoor overpass, and a red dashed line indicates an outdoor overpass. A legend identifies symbols for Corridors, Indoor Overpasses, and Outdoor Overpasses. A scale bar shows 0, 50, and 100m.</p> <p>The right side of the image contains two photographs: the top one shows a modern building with a glass facade, and the bottom one shows a rooftop garden area with a building in the background.</p> | <p>In Phase I, buildings were interconnected by a long circuitous corridor and several overpasses on the second level. The overpass “Bridge of Creativity” in Phase I was also connected with a building in Phase II.</p> |

3.2.2 Functional Transformations: From Manufacturing to Creative Businesses

Case Studies: Tong Le Fang

As mentioned before, the triangular site of Tong Le Fang was a gathering place of several Linong factories early in the 1940s, when the 22,000-square-meter site consisted of different types of industries such as steel factories, textile printing plants, candy factories, machine factories and many more. There was also Linong residential area, small shops, cultural and leisure establishments⁵⁸ and even a neighborhood school⁵⁹ along with these factories (Figure 13). In the late 1990s, most Linong factories in Tong Le Fang had stopped production, so it turned to be a slum packed with crowded residential housing, dilapidated small restaurants, inns, and filthy garbage recycling station.

However, led by the local government, Tong Le Fang redevelopment project has improved the environment and changed the post-industrial site into a new fashion, entertainment and art hub. According to Yu (2006), after the restoration more than 70% of the leased spaces had became bars, restaurants, designer outlets, and art-related retails. This attracted many young, fashionable and energetic people. It also brings into light the pertinent question that whether the art factory is truly “artistic”. Analysis of the over 60 tenants in Tong Le Fang reveals that some small theatres, galleries and performance artist studios were drawn to this site because of its relatively cheap rentals, however, the major tenants are still those non-artistic and for-profit industries, especially restaurants and bars. Although Tong Le Fang declared that it knitted culture, creativity, leisure and

⁵⁸ Some sports facilities are also included here in the cultural and leisure establishments, like the Xihai Gymnasium and the Billiard Room.

⁵⁹ Jinghua Primary and Secondary School.

public events (such as fashion shows, art festivals and theme weeks) into the commercial developments, it was still widely criticized for its money making strategies in the name of arts.

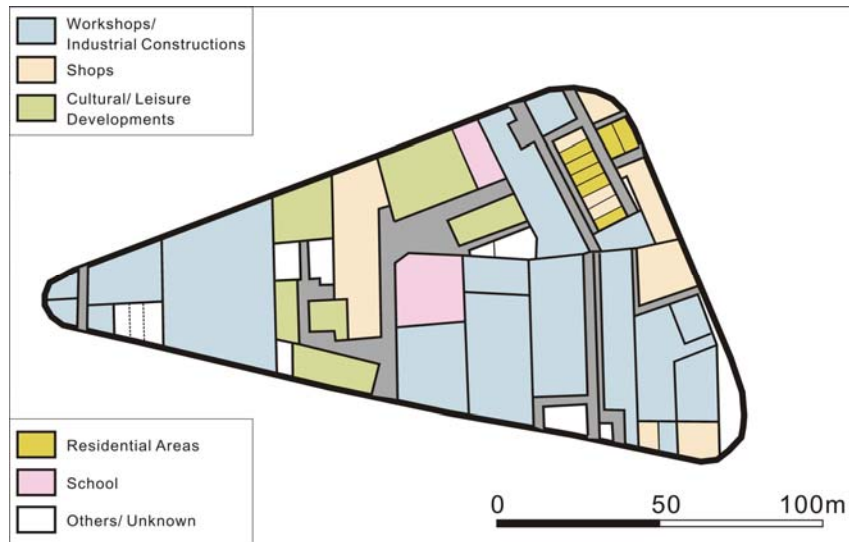


Figure 14: Land use map of Tong Le Fang in the 1940s

Case Studies: M50

In M50, The trail of development, from manufacturing (cotton production) to art and creative industry, is quite clear. Unlike the diverse landowners and mixed land uses in other cases, M50 was initially a state-owned spinning factory⁶⁰. Located at Moganshan Road and relying on the water transportation of Suzhou Creek, it was once a part of the earliest and most important waterfront industrial quarter in Shanghai. Around the year 2000, the factory stopped its production and leased the abandoned workshops to a group of artists, and thus began its transformation into an art district. A large art cluster was shaped, mostly ateliers in fine arts and performing arts; galleries, designing firms, movie and fashion

⁶⁰ It was Xinhe Spinning Mill in the 1940s, after 1949 it was renamed Chunming Spinning Factory. Before M50 was established it was renamed Shanghai Chunming Metropolitan Industrial Park in 2002 and Chunming Art Industrial Park in 2004 by Shanghai Municipal Economic Committee.

studios. Ruan (2004 May 26) estimated that in 2004 there were over 60 galleries⁶¹ from China and all over the world⁶². Another official estimation⁶³ shows that about 20% tenant shops in M50 were galleries; 33% were design companies, cultural & art associations, fashion & design outlets and art-related retails; 45% were personal studios and ateliers; and only less than 2% were restaurants and cafés. On comparing with the early statistics of M50, this data shows that the celebrated international art quarter also became commercialized like other art factories: the number of individual artists and freelancers started declining or being displaced by designing firms and galleries that could afford M50's rising rentals.

Case Studies: Tian Zi Fang

Tian Zi Fang art district initiated from 210 Nong Taikang Road in the late 1990s and gradually expanded to the other parts of Taikang Road block. On the map of 1947, about 18 small Linong factories of textile printing, food industry, chemical industry and many other industries were established and intermingled with Linong neighborhoods⁶⁴. After 1949, they were turned into two large factories⁶⁵ and the industrial area was clearly divided from Linong residential areas (Figure 14). Some reports (Yu 2006) recalled that Taikang Road was filled with chaotic, cheap markets and grimy shops in the 1970s and 1980s, but the situation had changed a lot in the 1990s when it was eventually turned into an art

⁶¹ Ruan maybe includes some ateliers and personal studios into the estimation of galleries, as the definition of "gallery" is quite ambiguous here. Many studios also host exhibitions and sales of their own artworks.

⁶² Such as galleries from England, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Canada, Hong Kong and many other countries and areas.

⁶³ It's based on filed survey and the statistics from M50's official website.

⁶⁴ http://www.m50.com.cn/inc_alllist.asp Here the "galleries" do not include those "art producing spaces" like ateliers and studios.

⁶⁵ See Appendix I for the detailed maps of Tian Zi Fang in the 1940s.

⁶⁵ People's Needle Factory and Shanghai Machine Works of Food Industry.

and handicraft-characterized street. The shops along the streets began to sell handicrafts, caneworks, stone carvings, sculptures, curios, and other handmade artworks and hence, a new community was formed in Taikai Road Block.

Since 1998, some individual artists had started to move their workshops to Taikang Road Block. Lou (2006 Sep 25) in 2002 the local government had started to support the art community and soon they established Tian Zi Fang creative cluster⁶⁶, which attracted 102 creative enterprises from 18 countries. He also estimated that in 2004 there were 162 tenants from 17 countries, including 29 artist studios or ateliers, 58 galleries and handicraft shops, 65 antique shops, 10 restaurants, cafés and bars (Lou 2004 Jul 08). Thus, it had become an international art community covering wide-ranging fields of arts industries, such as fine arts, performing arts, designing industry, as well as fashion and handicraft retails, exotic cafés and other leisure developments. In the recent years due to the rapid increase in leisure consumption Tian Zi Fang was consequently commercialized, and the number of restaurants and shops were increased accordingly.

⁶⁶ Tian Zi Fang was among the first group of creative clusters established by SCIC. See Appendix II.

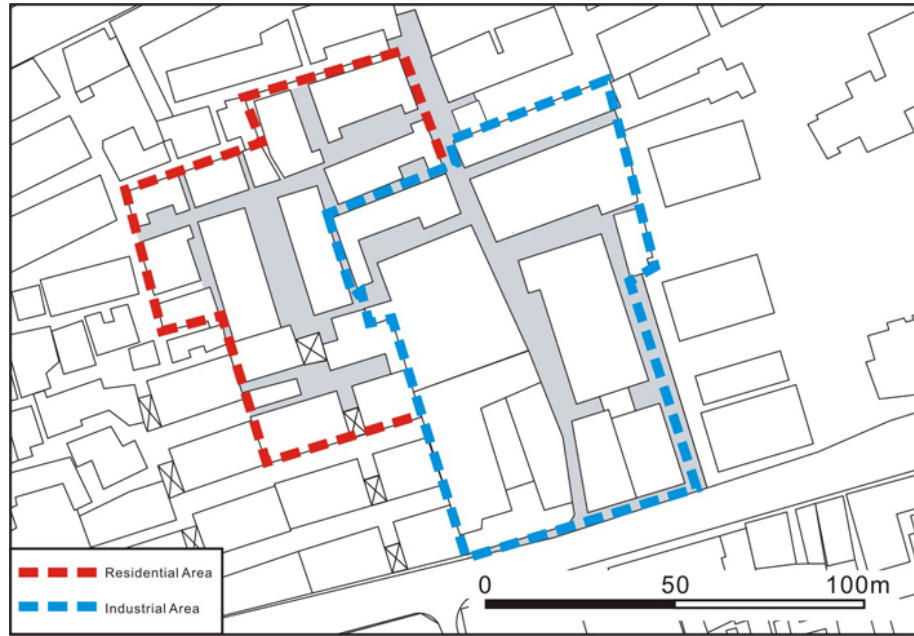


Figure 15: Land use map of Tian Zi Fang before it becomes an art district

Case Studies: The Bridge 8

The Bridge 8, just like M50, was developed from a single factory. In 2003, Lifestyle Consulting Company rented the 1950s' Shanghai Automobile Brake Factory and began the Bridge 8 redevelopment project. By early 2008⁶⁷, there were a total of 70 tenants settled in the Phase I of the art district, around 50 (72%) of which were design-based and culture-related enterprises. By June 2007, official statistics⁶⁸ showed that about 29% of tenants were architectural, urban and interior designing firms; 34% were advertisement and consulting companies; 9% were cultural-related enterprises, related to visual arts and publication. Many world-famous designing enterprises such as S.O.M., B+H Architects and many other well-known film-making studios were established here. As Phase II of the project was completed in late 2007, more restaurants, bars and fashion clubs started their businesses in the Bridge 8, which opened up leisure spaces for artists,

⁶⁷ The data was from the field survey carried out in early 2008.

⁶⁸ The statistics were taken from the Bridge 8 management office and its posters.

white-collar people and other consumers from surrounding districts. The Bridge 8 was still an art district in a sense, but it is more accurate to say that it was largely dominated by the large creative companies and for-profit developments.

Summary

Almost every case has a long history before becoming an artistic haven. The previously built manufacturing sites had different land uses and various built environments of the site. There could be a single large factory or many clusters of several micro-factories. Their scope and size also varied and they were sometimes established with surrounding residential areas. These factors largely influenced their transformation to art factories. Sometimes they were transformed gradually from busy manufacturing sites to derelict post-industrial districts, then slum areas and at last art districts, whereas in some other cases the manufacturing sites were changed directly into art factories.

The historical development and the ways of regeneration had important implications on the new functions of the sites. Commercialization was inevitable in every art district, but the ways and degrees of commercialization varied. The communities situated along the spontaneously developed art factories (like M50) were largely made of galleries and individual artists⁶⁹, while for-profit enterprises were welcomed in those planned art factories. For example, around 100 million Yuan was poured into Tong Le Fang redevelopment project, and the investors expected to get back their capital within five years (Hai 2005). They preferred art-related for-profit leisure developments such as salons, theatres, clubs and

⁶⁹ In some cases like M50, individual artists sometimes also use their studios as residential space. But this is not common in other cases.

restaurants. This explains why the selected four art factories which developed in the similar situation were now on different tracks of functional transformation (Table 3). Actually many art factories are characterized by “design” rather than “arts”. In the Bridge 8, large design enterprises were introduced that would probably bring more rental income than poor artists.

| Case Studies | | | Tong Le Fang | M50 | Tian Zi Fang | The Bridge 8 |
|---------------------------|--|--|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| Post-industrial districts | Types of industries | | Small-size Linong Factories (steel, Spinning, Chemical, Electrical Machinery, Printing, etc.) | Chunming Spinning Factory (Xinhe Spinning Mill) | Small-size Linong Factories (silk, textile, machine, food, cosmetics, chemical, printing, etc.) | Shanghai Automobile Brake Factory |
| | Residential areas on the site | | Old Linong housing and new slab housing | N/A | Linong alley compounds | N/A |
| | Interim slums | | Dilapidated buildings occupied by non-art businesses | Artists mixed with non-art businesses | N/A | N/A |
| | Spontaneous use | | N/A | Individual artists | Individual artists | N/A |
| The “art factories” | Number of tenants | | over 60 | over 120 | over 160 | over 70 |
| | Major types and forms of arts and art-related businesses ⁷⁰ | Studios/Ateliers | | *** | * | |
| | | Galleries | * | ** | ** | * |
| | | Designing companies/ Cultural & art associations | * | ** | ** | *** |
| | | Fashion & design outlets/ Art-related retails | * | | *** | * |
| | | Entertainment/ leisure facilities | * | | | |
| | | Restaurants/ Bars/ Cafés | *** | * | *** | * |

Table 3: Comparing the functional transformations of the four cases

⁷⁰ The number of the punctuation “*” here shows approximately the degrees of predominance of certain art-related business in an art factory.

3.2.3 New Public Spaces and Spatial Activities

Summary

We have already mentioned that some revitalized industrial clusters did not experience significant spatial changes, such as M50 and Tian Zi Fang, due to spontaneous occupation and heritage preservation. However, the comparative study demonstrates that even without much physical changes, the two art factories still have transformed spatial practices and activities as much as the other two selected cases. Whether newly built or gradually formed, the public spaces were all used for vibrant activities, consumptions, public events and other new spatial practices. The image and appearances of the post-industrial districts were also changed. There were communications between the old and new parts, reconstructions and refurbishments of old buildings in modern styles, improved public leisure facilities and infrastructure, and the disappearing boundaries (grey spaces) between interior and exterior spaces.

The most important vibrant public spaces in the renovated “art factories” were those ground-level open spaces, which were able to host large commercial or art events, and enabled communication and art consumption within the community. In some cases like the Bridge 8 and Tong Le Fang, the ground-floor spaces were closely linked with roof gardens by stairs, overpasses and integrated into a three-dimensional public space network. The major types of public spaces could be seen in the four case studies⁷¹:

⁷¹ The alleys in M50 and Tong Le Fang are not playing critical roles like the alleys in Tian Zi Fang, which reflect the consumption patterns and vibrant activities. Though they also provide some spaces for public communication, they have certain limitations to become the main public space of the art factories.

- Tong Le Fang: squares and yards, roof gardens
- Tian Zi Fang: alleys and inner alley yards
- The Bridge 8: squares, overpasses and a inner street
- M50: squares

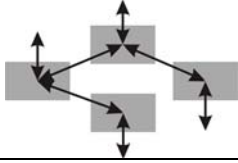
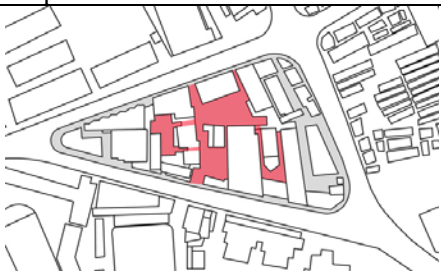
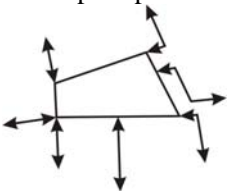


The main public spaces were not necessarily outdoor open spaces but included many lower floor interior spaces, for instance in M50 and the Bridge 8 there are galleries, exhibition halls and CD shops that were open to the public. Some exhibitions and concerts were often held in there. The outdoor and indoor public spaces were often connected by lanes, passageways and bridges. Besides, the “grey space” frequently appeared in the four art factories. It refers to “an intervening space between the inside and outside” (Kurokawa 1988, p.54) that creates visual communication, connects the two spaces and increases the diversity of visual images.

The physical space and environment has largely influenced spatial activities. Tong Le Fang and Tian Zi Fang were both Linong residential wards with similar narrow lanes and alleys. Tong Le Fang it dismantled some of its old buildings, built open squares and widened the lanes for parking or other public uses, for example, to hold large events like exhibitions, concerts and others while Tian Zi Fang preserved the narrow old alleys and turned them into featured artistic walkways for roadside public activities, like for walking around, chatting, sitting, displaying, and shopping. The small-scale public space encouraged grassroots expressions which attracted more visitors than the large open squares which often brought in official events and collective activities. Just like Rapoport said,

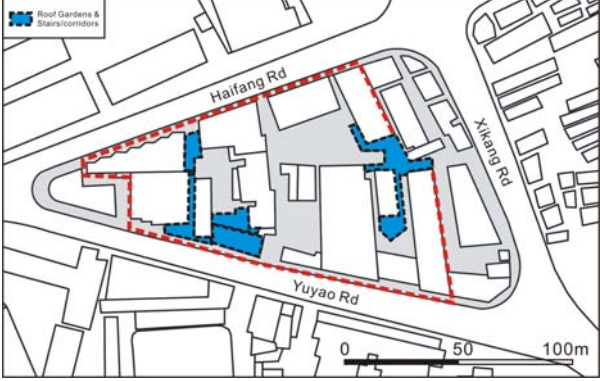
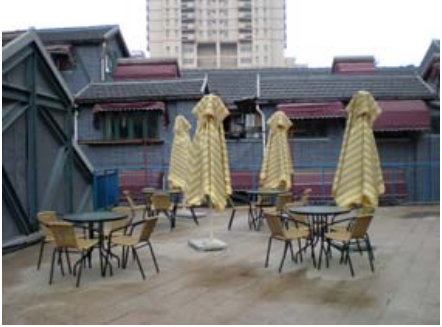
“Cues have the purpose of letting people know in which kind of domain or setting they are...it is the social situation that influences people’s behavior, but it is the physical environment that provides the cues.”
(Rapoport 1982, p.56-57)

Perhaps the most interesting thing was that art factories could compromise the different behavior and desires of the diversified interest groups in the public spaces. In Tian Zi Fang the residents (who were also the earliest spatial users) used their yards as semi-private spaces for outdoor seating, chatting, children playing, and laundry. As artists and art-related retailers settled in the yards, their daily activities such as painting, running the galleries or shops, selling handicrafts, and giving pottery lessons to children, all continued in tandem with the existing residential behavior. As more and more visitors and consumers “intruded” the yards for shopping, seating and dining, another usage layer was formed and public spaces became even more complex and versatile.

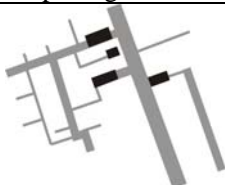



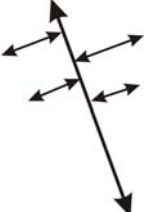
Case Studies: Tong Le Fang






| Analysis on the Public Spaces & Activities –Tong Le Fang | | |
|--|---|---|
| | Maps/ Figures | Descriptions |
| Basic Spatial Configurations |  | Grey: four public squares Black: the passageways or entrances linking the squares |
| Major Spatial Types | | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Squares/yards Alleys/roofed passageways Roof squares |
| Public Spaces | | Spatial Activities and Spatial Perceptions |
| Squares and Yards |  <p><u>Entrances, boundaries, linkage and spatial significance</u> Several entrances connect the squares to the outside streets. The squares are divided by buildings and interconnected by ground-level alleys or roofed passageways. The four squares are interconnected into an open space system. The walls separate the art factory territory from surrounding neighborhoods, and clearly define the boundaries of the site.</p> <p><u>Openness and spatial image</u> The spatial patterns of the inner squares are semi-open and not fully enclosed, usually with one entrance linking to the outside street and several other passageways to other squares. The squares and yards are usually vacant, covered by bricks, and sometimes with a few outdoor seating facilities, open to the public.</p> <p><u>The “Grey Spaces”</u>⁷² The squares are surrounded by buildings with glass curtain walls and large windows. The transparent façades encourage the visual communication between the inside and outside and create the ambiguous “grey spaces”. Awnings, umbrellas and outdoor seats are also provided as the extension of both interior and exterior public spaces.</p> | <p><u>Accessibility, privacy and pedestrian routes</u> The squares are highly accessible from the street entrances. A typical pedestrian route of the public square (see the map below) shows that many entrances and lanes in different directions connect the square with other open spaces. The squares are public in the territory of Tong Le Fang, but for the outside city, they are still semi-open spaces.</p>  <p><u>Public activities and utilization of spaces</u> The squares are often used for large public cultural events or commercial activities, such as art festivals, theme weeks, and fashion shows. They are also used for outdoor seating and temporary parking.</p>  |
| |  | |

⁷² The “grey spaces” were described by Kisho Kurokawa in 1988 as “an intervening space between the inside and outside” (Kurokawa 1988, p.54) that creates visual communication, connects spaces and increases the diversity of visual images. The metaphorical word “grey” was not referred to the grey color of the analytic maps here.

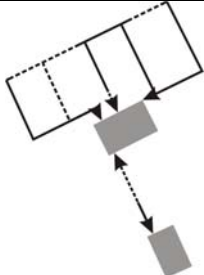

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| <p>Roof Squares/ Roof Gardens</p> |  <p><u>Entrances, boundaries, linkage and spatial significance</u> The roof gardens are connected to the ground squares and adjacent buildings by stairs and corridors. With the high accessibility, the roof squares extended the public spaces from the ground to the upper levels.</p> <p><u>Openness and spatial image</u> The roof squares are usually independent open public spaces, sometimes semi-enclosed as they are surrounded by buildings. A number of outdoor seating and dining facilities are available here, turning the roof squares into leisure public spaces.</p> |  <p><u>Accessibility, privacy and pedestrian routes</u> Normally the roof squares have less than two entrances, and only accessible for the pedestrians. Many outdoor facilities are provided by the restaurants. In comparison to the ground-level public squares, they are more private and defined as places for consumptions.</p> <p><u>Public activities and utilization of spaces</u> Outdoor seating, dining, and chatting (by consumers of the restaurants and bars)</p> |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|

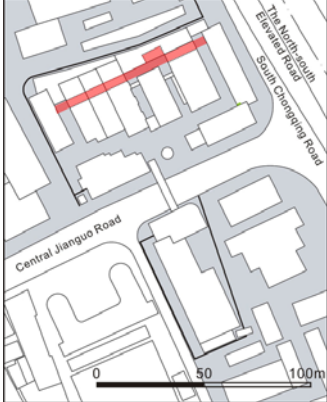


Case Studies: Tian Zi Fang

| Analysis on the Public Spaces & Activities –Tian Zi Fang | | |
|--|--|---|
| | Maps/ Figures | Descriptions |
| Basic Spatial Configurations |  | Grey: the main and branch alleys Black: the widened alley yards |
| Major Spatial Types |  | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Main alleys 2. Branch alleys 3. Alley yards |
| Spatial Hierarchy | <p>Tian Zi Fang is a typical Linong alley compounds. It has clear spatial hierarchy: the outside streets — main alleys (north-south and east-west) — branch alleys — sub-branch alleys — semi-private alley yards.</p> <p>The southeast part of the district was previously an industrial district, so if compare with the northwest residential area, it has smaller number of branch alleys. The public activities of Taikang Road Block have a gradual transition to private activities from southeast to northwest corner.</p> | |
| Public Spaces | | Spatial Activities and Spatial Perceptions |
| Main alleys |  <p><u>Entrances, boundaries, linkage and spatial significance</u> The main alleys link the outside urban streets and the branch Linong alleys deep inside the block. An entrance of the main alley shows the beginning of the semi-open Linong public space. The main alleys are usually busy and accessible for all people. Like the streets, shape and direction of the alleys are defined by the surrounding buildings.</p> <p><u>Openness and spatial image</u> The main alleys have two major entrances at both ends and many small entrances on the intersecting brand alleys. The alleys are usually long, narrow, with many low-rise Linong buildings built along the two sides.</p> <p><u>The “Grey Spaces”</u> Occupied by artist studios and shops, the lower floors along the alleys are restored with glass doors and showcases. The transparent doors and windows along the alleys have created the ambiguous linear public spaces that included both exteriors and interiors.</p> | <p><u>Accessibility, privacy and pedestrian routes</u> The main alleys are accessible from the urban streets only by pedestrians and bicycles (sometimes motorcycles). They are semi-public spaces that are mainly used by residents and people passing through the block. The pedestrians usually pass through the main alleys or simply turn into the branch alleys.</p> <p><u>Public activities and utilization of spaces</u></p>  <p>Passing through the alley, shopping, stay, reading posters and guiding boards, taking pictures, chatting, etc.</p>  |

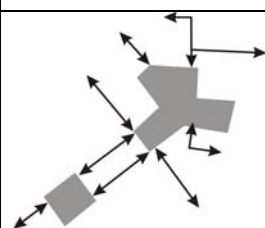


| | | |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| Branch/sub-branch alleys | <p><u>Entrances, boundaries, linkage and spatial significance</u> The branch alleys and main alleys usually intersect at a right angle. The branch alleys link the main alleys and distribute the pedestrian flow into sub-branch alleys or alley yards. They are the transition nodes between outside main alleys and inside residential spaces.</p> <p><u>Openness and spatial image</u> The branch alleys are usually semi-private spaces, with small openings on the both ends and sometimes even smaller entrances to sub-branch alleys. They are narrower than the main alleys, paved with grey bricks, with doors and windows on the red walls on both sides. Some parts of the branch alleys are wider than the other parts, forming the small alley yards.</p> <p><u>The “Grey Spaces”</u> Outdoor seating and dining facilities are common now in the branch alleys, besides, the bars and restaurants also provide other leisure facilities.</p>  | <p><u>Accessibility, privacy and pedestrian routes</u> The branch alleys are only accessible from the main alleys (the sub-branch alleys are accessible from the branch alleys). They are usually a semi-private space that leads to even more private spaces. The map on the right shows a common pedestrian route of the branch alleys.</p>  <p><u>Public activities and utilization of spaces</u>  There are various and vibrant visitor activities in branch alleys, mixed with residential activities. Residents: outdoor seating, chatting, children playing, laundry, weaving thread, etc. Visitors: passing by, shopping, stay, taking pictures, seating, dining, etc.</p> |
| Alley Yards |  <p><u>Entrances, boundaries, linkage and spatial significance</u> The yards are wide open spaces in the middle or at the end of the branch alleys, with one or two small entrances. An alley yard usually combines various functions like restaurants and bars, art-related retails, and residential activities. They are the central public spaces in the whole alley compounds.</p> <p><u>Openness and spatial image</u> The yards are nearly enclosed by the surrounding low-rise buildings, only left a few entrance from the outside alleys. Similar to the branch alleys, the yards are also paved with grey or red bricks and have various leisure facilities. However, the open spaces in alley yards are often wider and brighter than alleys.</p> <p><u>The “Grey Spaces”</u> Transparent showcases, glass walls, windows and outdoor dining facilities of the bars and restaurants all increase the visual communication as well as connect the inside and outside public spaces.</p> | <p><u>Accessibility, privacy and pedestrian routes</u> The alley yards are accessible by pedestrians from branch or sub-branch alleys, they are semi-private spaces for certain user groups, such as residents or consumers of the restaurants and shops.</p> <p><u>Public activities and utilization of spaces</u> The public activities of the yards depend on their uses. Some residential yards are quiet and independent from the main alleys. Some other yards are filled with visitors, and the public activities are very vibrant. Residents: outdoor seating, chatting, children playing, laundry, etc. Visitors: shopping, seating, dining, chatting, etc.</p>  <p>(Photo by Hee, Limin)</p> |

Case Studies: The Bridge 8

| Analysis on the Public Spaces & Activities –The Bridge 8 | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| | Maps/ Figures | Descriptions | |
| Basic Spatial Configurations |  | Grey: squares Black: Outdoor/indoor alleys, passageways, inner streets and overpasses that connect the open squares and buildings | |
| Major Spatial Types | | 1. Squares 2. Alleys/ passageways (the inner leisure street for example) 3. The Overpasses (the “bridge of creativity” for example) | |
| Squares |  <p><u>Entrances, boundaries, linkage and spatial significance</u> There are two squares in the Bridge 8: the north (Phase I) and the south (Phase II) squares. The north square is directly open to Central Jianguo Road without gate or fence. It connects the outdoor alleys and indoor passageways into a loop route. The south square, actually an inner leisure yard of the office building with seating and dining facilities, is accessible from both Central Jianguo Road and the overpass linking Phase I and II. It has clear boundaries and is the only open space of Phase II.</p> <p><u>Openness and spatial image</u> The north square: open, wide, landmarks, posters and the fountain landscape The south square: small-size, enclosed, color stone pavement and leisure facilities</p> <p><u>The “Grey Spaces”</u> The north square: transparent glass curtain walls and showcases encourage the communication between inside and outside. The south square: dining seats, extension of interior spaces (the restaurants) to the outside open spaces.</p> | <p><u>Accessibility, privacy and pedestrian routes</u> The north square: accessible by pedestrians and vehicles from Central Jianguo Road; open to the public.</p> <p>The south square: accessible by pedestrians only; semi-private. It serves for the creative talents in the building and consumers of the restaurant.</p> <p><u>Public activities and utilization of spaces</u> The north square: distributing the pedestrian flow; often used for large events (art festivals, theme weeks, exhibitions, etc.); providing large open space for visitors to pass by, stay and communicate.</p> <p>The south square: outdoor seating, dining, chatting, etc. Similar to the inner leisure street in Phase I, it is designed for the white-collar workers to communicate outside their working spaces.</p> | |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|--|--|
| <p>The Inner Leisure Street</p> |  <p>route.</p> <p><u>Openness and spatial image</u> The inner street is a narrow, long alley space with a small yard and separated from the outside main square by buildings. It provides outdoor seats with dining services, BBQ and wines. It's a semi-open space, decorated with different materials like cement, wood, grey bricks, and sometimes decorated by colorful walls and showcases.</p> <p><u>The “Grey Spaces”</u> Transparent glass curtain walls and windows along the corridor, dining seats, extension of interior spaces to the outside small open squares.</p> | <p><u>Entrances, boundaries, linkage and spatial significance</u> The inner street runs through several buildings, connects the intersecting alleys and forms a small backyard and some roofed passageways. It is the central public leisure space of the art factory and part of the circle</p> |  <p>(Photo by Hee, Limin)</p> <p><u>Accessibility, privacy and pedestrian routes</u> Semi-public, accessible from the alleys, parking space, atriums and the back doors of the buildings. The west part of the street allows vehicles in, and the rest part is only accessible by pedestrians.</p> <p><u>Public activities and utilization of spaces</u> Passing by, communicating, outdoor seating and dining, etc.</p> |
| <p>The Overpass</p> |  <p>in the north part (Phase I) and the roof squares in the south part (Phase II). It links the two parts of the bridge 8 and becomes a public exhibition space across the road.</p> <p><u>Openness and spatial image</u> The interior is a fully enclosed long corridor, covered by green glass curtain walls and using solar energy for lighting and air-conditioning.</p> | <p><u>Entrances, boundaries, linkage and spatial significance</u> The “Bridge of Creativity” across Central Jianguo Road is accessible from the elevators</p> | <p><u>Accessibility, privacy and pedestrian routes</u> The space is open to the public and accessible by any pedestrians from the elevators. However, it creates a sense of privacy as it is enclosed and separated from the outside.</p> <p><u>Public activities and utilization of spaces</u> Exhibitions are often held here; visitors pass through the overpass to reach another part of the art factory.</p> |

Case Studies: M50

| Analysis on the Public Spaces & Activities –M50 | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| | Maps/ Figures | Descriptions | |
| Basic Spatial Configurations |  | Grey: squares Black: alleys, lanes, passageways or entrances | |
| Major Spatial Types | | 1. Squares 2. Alleys/ lanes/ passageways ⁷³ | |
| Squares |   | | <u>Accessibility, privacy and pedestrian routes</u> The squares are accessible by both pedestrians and vehicles. The entrance square is a semi-public leisure space for both visitors and artists. The inner square is a semi-private space, mostly used by artists. |
| | <u>Entrances, boundaries, linkage and spatial significance</u> The square near to the entrance is accessible from the gate on Moganshan Road, and the inner square can be reached through the entrance square and alleys. The two squares are the main open public spaces inside M50. They are all enclosed by surrounding buildings and have no clear boundary. <u>Openness and spatial image</u> The entrance square: semi-open space, providing dining seats, beach umbrellas and an electronic bulletin board showing news and recent art events. The inner square: semi-private space, parking lots, fountain landscape. <u>The “Grey Spaces”</u> The entrance square: dining seats; the interior spaces of the restaurant and the music bar are extended to the outside. | | <u>Public activities and utilization of spaces</u> The entrance square: passing by, outdoor seating and dining, communicating, reading posters, etc. The inner square: parking, passing by, communicating, etc. Both: large events such as art festivals, theme weeks, outdoor concerts, etc. |

⁷³ The public space, spatial activities and perceptions of the alley spaces in M50 are similar to those in Tong Le Fang and the Bridge 8. It is not necessary to introduce them again here.

3.3 Public Image, Impact and Identity: from Art Quarter to the Urban Surroundings

3.3.1 Placemaking in the Post-industrial Districts

The transformed art factories not only brought mixed architectural and spatial features inside the territories, but also expanded their influence to the surrounding urban area by totally changing its image and people's perceptions of the place. The mixture, re-conceptualization and transformation of old and new images in art factories became labels of a new diversified urban space (Table 4).

As discussed before, the spatial layout turned to be more public in the renovated art factories, especially when they had removed the boundaries and gates, thereby turning the private space into public realms. This transformation in art factories encouraged publicity, communications and consumptions, and hence the urban districts became more appealing to visitors. This new pattern of public activities had totally changed the grimy, dim and the rigid images of the post-industrial districts.

Another significant transformation of the image of the art factory lays on the historical evolution of real-life scenes. Toorn Vrijthoff (2006) pointed out that the “long historic background” of the buildings is reflected by the “strong mix of functions” where housing is mixed with business or commercial uses (Ibid, p.70). This amalgamation is also found today in Tian Zi Fang, where the newly-moved-in art businesses are carefully weaved into the historical fabric and they simultaneously co-exist with the residential Linong housing and street-lined small shops. It reflects a “real history” of the site, which was developed through

slow evolutions and shaped gradually over a long time. Although the three other cases (Tong Le Fang, M50 and the Bridge 8) do not have such mixed land use patterns today as in Tian Zi Fang (because of their site history, building sizes and urban contexts), they all have shown a strong variety in the multi-tenanted buildings, where various kinds of creative, art and recreational functions mixed together. This diverse functionality led to a diversified image and largely influenced the formation of place identity. For example, before the rejuvenation Tian Zi Fang represented the banal routine life of Shanghainese in the old downtown residential areas; M50 and Tong Le Fang were all seen as dirty, run down “lower quarters” (Xia Zhi Jiao)⁷⁵ that were old-fashioned and blighted the inner city. However, after the renovation they all became popular and dynamic “upper quarters” that mixed the artistic and high-class galleries, art studios, theatres, bars, restaurants, design firms. Most importantly, they became tourist destinations, attracting tourists from all over the world with bright lights, advertising signs, feasting and revelry.

For the historic urban areas, refurbishing is not simply preserving and restoring the old fabric, but it also involves a rejuvenating process that perfectly knits the new fabric into the old. The transformed industrial landscape evoked different feelings among the citizens. Just like Jacobs (1961) felt, it is important to recover a thriving public cultural life during the urban regeneration. Art factories are not simply a rebuilt place, but they play new roles in the placemaking of the city. “Rebuilt is replacement; reborn is the regeneration of the existing fabric developed over time.” (Gratz 2003, p.25)

⁷⁵ The “lower quarters” (“Xia Zhi Jiao”) and “upper quarters” (“Shang Zhi Jiao”) refer to the areas in poor living conditions or with higher living levels respectively in Shanghai dialect.

The increased spatial diversity also indicates the transformation of urban post-industrial districts. In some cases like Tian Zi Fang, the rich spatial diversity and various features were made possible because of the diversified buildings and urban fabric that already existed before art factory movement. Just like Ruan suggested in his report that Taikang Road Block has a wide variety of spatial configurations including traditional residential yards, industrial buildings, patios, western-style gardens, alleys, lanes, arcades and squares that have existed for half a century (Ruan et al. 2004). In some other cases, their spatial diversity was created during the renovation of art factories. The new features were reflected by the modern, western, and artistic images that were interwoven with the well-preserved old, indigenous and reminiscent industrial images. For example, the pipelines, rough brick walls, dormer roofs, steel bridges and old industrial structures were also well preserved and combined with the modern façades of old buildings, like glass curtain walls, steels, colorful mosaics, and other fashionable decorations. Added to this, some showcases, sculptures, fountain landscape, plants, posters, neon lights, leisure facilities and artworks were also used in public spaces to create an artistic atmosphere (Figure 15). The artistic aura of art factories has increased their local distinctiveness and rebranded these post-industrial districts as places where “history meets future, tradition meets modern, eastern meets western (styles), and classic meets popularity” (Li 2004 Jul 22, p.3).



Figure 16: Shanghai Art Deco, posted in one of the alleys in Tian Zi Fang

There were a lot of conflicting viewpoints from the public about the juxtaposition of the old images in an entirely new context. In some cases like M50, most of the industrial images and details of the 1940s' industrial site were simply preserved or recovered. Many artists insisted that the original designs should be preserved as much as possible, and only some soft decorations were added on the heritage buildings, so that they remain the representative of the traditional aesthetics. The view was entirely opposite to the administrator's opinions. The administrators of the spinning factory once planned to refurbish all the buildings and dismantle the disused industrial constructions. But they finally respected the artists' opinion, and the Bauhaus-style buildings and even their chimneys were kept intact in the art factory. In some other cases like Tong Le Fang, many old industrial buildings and constructions were dismantled and counterfeited buildings were built in the name of the history. For example, the huge artificial steel constructions were erected in an attempt to imitate the past and preserve it for the present (Figure 16). The impact of this superficial "beautification movement" also spread to the neighboring Linong housing, where squalor and poverty remained the same behind the repainted building façades.

The Bridge 8 redevelopment project, on the contrary, showed no willingness to “preserve” or “imitate” the past industrial landscape. Its desire was to produce a dramatic modern image and the “dynamic view” (Hirokawa 2005, p.176) that can be seen on the outer walls and building façades. For example, the new decorations like glass curtain walls, steel, wood laths, wire netting, and the grey bricks that removed from the old buildings and re-arranged to emphasize the bumpy texture. “An interesting phenomenon is that the bridge 8, as a cluster of buildings, does not have a visual resemblance; not even in the same building because sometimes its four façades have different materials and styles” (Xue and Peng 2006, p.128). In fact, the creation of a brand new image has led fundamentally to the effacement and the rewriting of the old industrial landscapes, leaving only the old workshops and making modern art industry the spirit of the place (Figure 17).



Figure 17: The newly-built artificial steel constructions in Tong Le Fang



Figure 18: New images created in the Bridge 8: the entrance square
Source: (Hirokawa, Hantant, and Azuma 2005, p.106)











| | Tian Zi Fang | Tong Le Fang | M50 | The Bridge 8 |
|----------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| Old Industrial Image | <p>small-size Linong factories, diversified Shikumen-style low-rise housing in the historical district</p> <p>narrow Linong lanes, alleys, yards with old brick walls</p>  <p>Source: (Ruan et al. 2004)</p> | <p>a dilapidated, grimy and high-density industrial cluster, with a small part of Linong residential housing and slab housing located on the corner of the block</p>  | <p>traditional manufacturing district of the 1930s, enclosed territory of the state-owned spinning factory, Bauhaus style buildings, steel bridges, stairs and other constructions</p>  | <p>a typical state-owned factory of the 1960s, gated territory, some multi-storey industrial buildings and low-rise workshops</p>  |
| Restoration and renovation | <p>preservation; refurbishment</p> | <p>partly preservation; refurbishment with artificial industrial landscape</p> | <p>preservation, slight refurbishment</p> | <p>preservation; refurbishment and beautification of building façades</p> |
| New Image | <p>artistic, fashionable and exotic signs, neon lights, posters, etc</p> <p>bright colors and decorations of the repainted buildings</p>  <p>Some buildings along the alleys were refurbished with modern materials like glass, wood, steel, bricks, concrete, especially on the windows and doors.</p> | <p>posters, neon lights, and advertising signs</p>  <p>bright and distinctive colors of landmark constructions</p>  | <p>A few parts of the buildings were refurbished with modern materials like glass, wood, steel, bricks, concrete, etc. Some old iron gates were preserved and some others were replaced by glass doors and windows.</p>  <p>walls and roofs were partially removed to expose the steel structure from the interiors</p> | <p>bright colors of buildings, showcases and decoration walls</p>  <p>The steel structures of the roof were exposed; new mosaic glass, metal, wood, wire nettings and other modern materials were used.</p>  |

Table 4: Comparing the four art factories: image transformation

3.3.2 Streets, Spatial Significance and Expansion

The surrounding streets and streetscapes of art factories are important parts of the preserved post-industrial districts. Not much was planned to be restored for these streets: they were not clean and not elegant enough to be tourist destinations, but their diversity is very attractive. In fact, the streets adjacent to the art factories in Shanghai today reflect a partially regenerated image. They have become places where high-rise housing complexes and modern business centers contradict the low-rise old buildings in dereliction and poverty. However, it is very important for the art factory since the artists could rent abandoned buildings at a very cheap price, at the same time also enjoying the advantages of a downtown location, for example the accessibility, improved infrastructure and potential cultural or commercial developments. Besides, the art factory developments have brought physical and social changes to the adjacent streets, for example, some roads have been widened in Tong Le Fang redevelopment project, with increased number of bars and galleries. Therefore, it is necessary to study the main streets and the surrounding developments in these four selected case studies to look for their impact on the city and the direct and indirect consequences of art factories.

The most obvious case of diversified streetscape is Taikang Road, the 400-meter-long old street that leads to Tian Zi Fang art district. There are numerous low-rise shops on the roadsides, such as snack shops, flea markets, cloth stores, small restaurants, fleabag hotels, banks, and others. These markets could provide all the basic living facilities. They also lead a better public life, allowing many residents, especially the old folks in Linong neighborhoods to sit,

bask in the sunshine, and chat with each other. The artistic image joins with the chaotic scene and spreads through the middle part of the street. In Moganshan Road, the post-industrial district creates the environment of a derelict landscape which is in strong contrast with its new and rich neighborhoods. At the same time, it portrays the arts in the form of graffiti on street frontages, which have become the unofficial landmarks of the M50 art district.

In general, the renovated districts that enabled new functionality constitute of low-rise spacious industrial buildings. Under these circumstances, the post-industrial districts often become the “low lands” in the transforming urban skyline, surrounded by dense clusters of high-rise buildings. Such image epitomizes the conflict between the urban regeneration and the conservation of historical districts. As pointed out by Ruan and Sun (2001), these “golden downtowns” where historical district located were often facing the dilemma of development. There was a intrinsic need to improve the poor living conditions that existed on this underdeveloped land, while on the other hand, large areas of old downtown districts of historical value need to be preserved. The development of art factories may be a good way to solve the problems in the conservation and regeneration of urban historical sites.

On analyzing the impact of art factories to their urban surroundings, the case studies of M50 and Tian Zi Fang⁷⁶ has shown us that the emergence of an art factory has the potential to transform its undeveloped surroundings (the vacant

⁷⁶ M50 and Tian Zi Fang are chosen for case studies here because they both have representative streetscapes and their surroundings are not fully renewed. The surroundings of the bridge 8 have been renewed in the recent years, so it is difficult to study the implication of art factories to their surrounding developments. The situation of Tong Le Fang is similar to Tian Zi Fang. They both have sites under construction and undeveloped Linong neighborhoods, but Tong Le Fang doesn't have featured streetscapes and large representative residential areas, so only Tian Zi Fang is chosen here in case studies.

industrial district or old neighborhood areas) into art-related, cultural, commercial or leisure sites where they will coalesce and function cooperatively as a whole, rather than developing individually. For instance, M50 is planned to be part of the waterfront cultural leisure park system, and one of Tian Zi Fang's neighborhood blocks is being constructed into a high-level fashion and commercial center. In other cases, such as the Bridge 8, it is difficult for the art factory to influence its surrounding urban districts because the surroundings have been already renewed before the art factory development. Conversely, the surroundings may turn to influence the art factory, for example, the escalated rentals of the regenerated area may lead to the preference of art factories for some for-profit developments.

The earliest art settlements in M50 and Tian Zi Fang concentrated only on the territory of Chunming Spinning Factory and 210 Nong Taikang Road respectively. They all expanded afterward. Island 6 Arts Center, which was previously a flour mill, is an independent heritage building located on the riverfront post-industrial site near M50 (Figure 18). On the corner of Moganshan Road, some small galleries and art centers have occupied the newly built two-storey roadside buildings as well. They have now become part of the new art developments beyond M50 in Moganshan area. Tian Zi Fang has also experienced similar expansion of art districts to the northern and eastern part of its territory. More and more residents began to move out of the Taikang Road Linong community and rent their houses to artists, so they could in return get high rental income. A unique type of shophouse has then appeared in central Tian Zi Fang: the ground floors of the multi-storey residential buildings are usually rented to

artist studios and decorated with large showcases of artworks, while the upstairs are still occupied by residents⁷⁷ (Figure 19).



Figure 19: Island 6 Arts Center, near M50 and Suzhou Creek

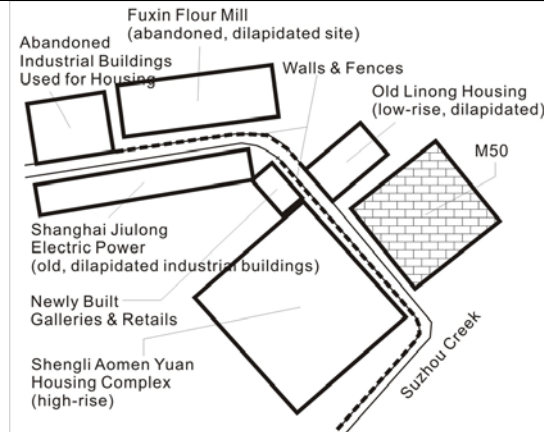


Figure 20: The emerging artistic shophouses in Tian Zi Fang

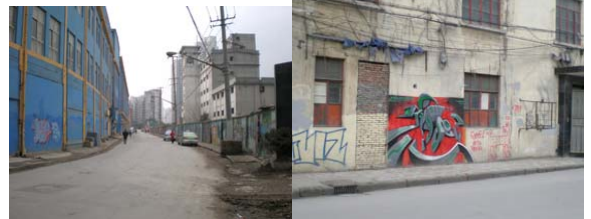
⁷⁷ The interrelationship between neighborhoods and the art factories will be further introduced in Chapter 4, using Tian Zi Fang as one of the examples.

Case Studies: M50- Moganshan Road

1. Street Layouts and Views

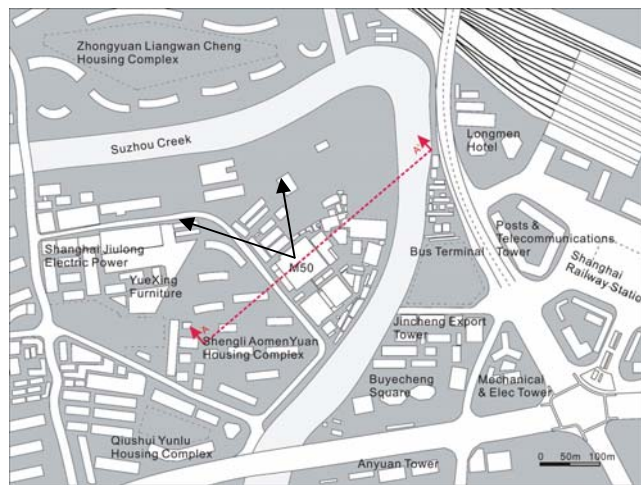
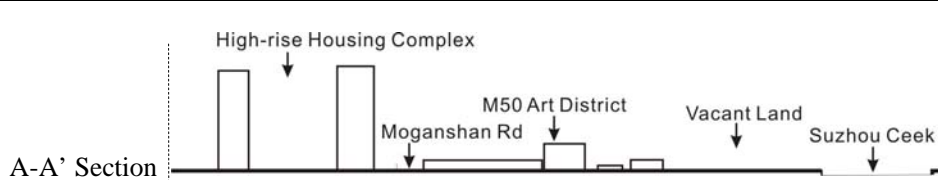


(Left up: photo by Hee, Limin)



Moganshan Road is the only way to M50 art district. The curved lonely small street isolates M50 from the outside world. Walls, fences, abandoned and dilapidated industrial buildings, low-rise Linong-style shophouses and slums stand along the first half of the street in a depressing landscape of dereliction. The second half of the street is occupied by a modern high-rise housing complex just opposite M50. The street is quiet with no roadside markets, and is an undisturbed workplace for artists. The “art images” have crept silently along the street: new low-rise buildings for galleries and other art-related spaces are built on the corner of Moganshan Road with graffiti on the roadside buildings.

2. Spatial Significance

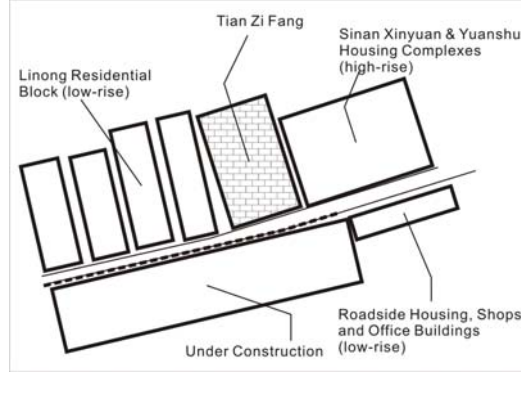


→ spatial expansion of the art district

The derelict industrial site of Moganshan Block, including M50 and some other reused low-rise industrial buildings, is now the waterfront lower land because its surrounding area has changed rapidly and it is now surrounded by high-rise housing and office buildings. Moganshan block is closely situated to Suzhou Creek, and with the waterfront landscape, efficient public transport and cultural developments, the block is potential to become a part of the riverfront green, cultural and leisure public spaces that serves the huge population in this area.

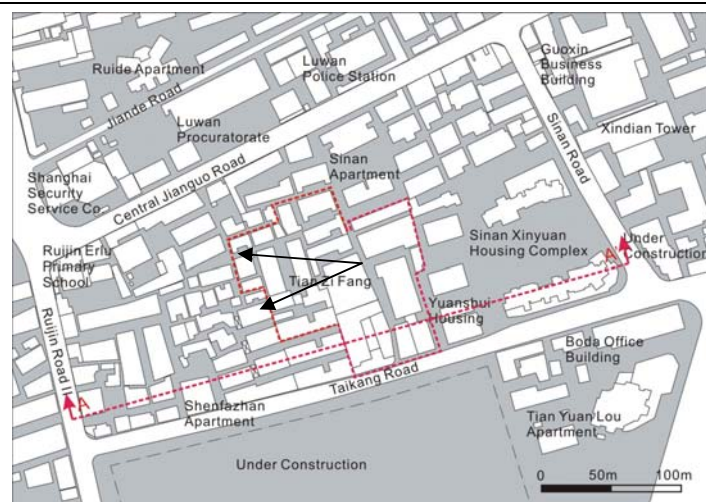
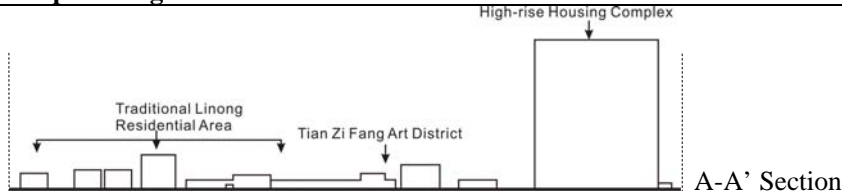
Case Studies: Tian Zi Fang- Taikang Road

1. Street Layouts and Views



Taikang Road is an old downtown street often characterized as a market of handicrafts and antiques in the late 1990s, with numerous traditional Shikumen Linong housing along the road. In contrast to the derelict industrial landscape of Moganshan Road, Taikang Road closely relates to the residential area and the alley compounds. The intimate residential community has endowed the road an atmosphere of traditional Shanghai living. Old folks rest or cut hair in front of the alleys, residents chat and shop from tiny roadside markets, bicycles and cars keep passing by the cheap markets and many other mundane scenes of everyday living gives this street a very warm atmosphere. These scenes juxtapose with the rebranded new image of Tian Zi Fang art factory, and hence lead to a diversified landscape of Taikang Road.

2. Spatial Significance



(Left): spatial expansion of the art district.

(Right): Source: (Ruan et al. 2004)

Similar to Moganshan Road, Taikang Road Block is one of the few large historical quarters that keep the original feature in the fast-changing downtown areas. In fact, a small part of the district has already been renewed. The southeast corner is now covered with high-rise housing complexes. A large commercial, business and cultural district is also planned to be built south to Taikang Road. However, most parts of the Taikang Road Block were well preserved, including large numbers of Linong residential buildings and the renowned art district Tian Zi Fang. They were established together as the Taikang Road Historical Featured Conservation District. Added to this, the Bridge 8 art district and many other heritage buildings are only a few hundred meters away from Taikang Road Block.

Chapter Four: Focusing on Urban Regeneration Issues: the Impact of Art Factories

4.1 Wards, People and Places in the Regeneration

4.1.1 Art-led Revival of Industrialized Areas, Public Events and New Communities

In the previous chapters, we have discussed in detail the functional transformation of industrial sites; from manufacturing to small businesses, then gradually to art and creative industry followed by their subsequent commercialization. Under the urban economic agenda which was singled by “an incorporation of innovative economies into the predominantly manufacturing-based economy” (Rossiter 2006, p.369), art and cultural developments were being increasingly recognized as the criteria for economic reinvention of the area. For a long time, they were a “part of the infrastructure of urban regeneration” because they could “attract inward investment; both in their own development, and in other sectors of the regional economy” (Wynne 1992). Moreover, the functional transformation could also bring more meaningful results that were limited not only to economic reinvention. For instance, it brought organizing of large cultural and commercial events, increase in industrial tourism and also growth in consumption of fashionable products. Therefore, art factories in Shanghai not only prompted the economic transformation but also socially and culturally revitalized the post-industrial areas.

In fact, upgrading projects of some art factories, like in the Bridge 8, was not only circumscribed to their own territories. They led to an increase in the land value, attracted more potential consumers and also led to the place making of the

urban area (Zou and Liu 2006). Bridge 8 was established by Luwan District Government as a “Demonstration Base of National Industrial Tourism”⁷⁸. It became a new cultural centre that determined the fashion trends in the city and attracted countless visitors every day. Similarly, many citizens and travelers were drawn to M50 and other art districts beside Suzhou Creek (Zhu and Tang 2002 Jul 18). It is clear that the prosperous art districts would definitely lead to increase in tourism, leisure and fashion, luxurious consumptions (Jing 2004). The existing art factories also led to the infrastructural development in the area. In addition, their rising rent also led to an increase in the land price of the downtown.

The sense and image of place was also changed by these art factories. In the 1940s, most of the residents staying near Tong Le Fang were employees of the Linong factories (Shen and Wang 2007). Their whole life revolved around this small piece of land. In the 1990s, Linong factories stopped the production and were gradually occupied by vagrants. Consequently, Yuyao Road⁷⁹ became a dirty and a dangerous street where no kid dared to walk during night (Shen and Wang 2007). Tong Le Fang redevelopment project drastically changed the industrial block from the obsolete and depressing landscape into a clean and vibrant one. It was being called Shanghai’s “Lan Kwai Fong”⁸⁰ as its main feature was the prosperous leisure developments like catering, bars, fashion centers as well as conducting cultural events.

⁷⁸ “全国工业旅游示范点” (“Demonstration Base of National Industrial Tourism”)

⁷⁹ Yuyao Road is one of the three roads encompassing Tong Le Fang. See Appendix I for the map of surrounding environments.

⁸⁰ Lan Kwai Fong is a famous high-class commercial district and tourism destination in Hong Kong. Countless bars, restaurants, and other leisure developments gather there.

The art factories were also developed by the planning authorities as cultural centers and landmarks that provided impetus for multiple functionality of land. In 2004, Shanghai No. 10 Steel Factory was converted into Shanghai Sculpture Space⁸¹, the first urban sculpture center in Shanghai (Figure 20). With large interior spaces and high ceilings, the former workshops were capable of holding large exhibitions, parties and other fashionable, cultural and art events, like Shanghai Biennale 2006⁸². Located in West Huaihai Road, near a famous downtown commercial district, a shopping center was once planned to be built on the post-industrial site, nevertheless, the plan was changed and the government finally decided it to become a public art and cultural center. This project was an attempt to create a vibrant and a diverse urban downtown that not only had space for business districts but also for public and cultural uses.

Art factories have recently become popular in public cultural events and commercial exhibitions. “Zhijiang Dream Factory”⁸³, a new small theatre in Tong Le Fang, has local operas, dramas, performance arts and art shows for citizens almost every day. M50 and many other downtown art factories also hold public events frequently, like fashion shows, open-air concerts, art exhibitions and many other such events. Many famous commercial brands (like Nokia, BMW, Chanel, etc.) also prefer these art factories for exhibition and promotion of their new products. These public events in art factories (Table 5) encourage public participation and attract the youth and middle classes into the art community.

⁸¹ According to Shanghai Creative Industry Center (SCIC), it is called “New No. 10 Steel Factory”, named after the old factory. It is also named “Red Town”.

⁸² The International Students' Exhibition of Shanghai Biennale 2006 was held in Shanghai Sculpture Space.

⁸³ Zhijiang Dream Factory inherited the name from the former Zhijiang Theatre (芷江大戏院) located on the site. (See Appendix I) It was once one of Shanghai's most famous theatres in the 1940s.

| Types of events | Descriptions and examples |
|---------------------|---|
| Theatres | Performances of operas, dramas, movies, etc. |
| Opening concerts | Square concerts, music bars or salons, etc. |
| Artwork exhibitions | Exhibitions of books, photography, potteries, handicrafts, paintings, sculptures, antiques, etc. |
| Fashion shows | Fashion shows, super model competitions, etc. |
| Festival events | Christmas parties, festival of lanterns, etc. |
| Commercial events | Advertising for commercial products (usually luxurious products), such as cars, mobile phones, jewelries, wines, etc. |
| Conferences | Governmental or institutional conferences, academic seminars |
| Theme Weeks | Non-profit public exhibitions, like sustainable architectural show, France cultural week, Australian tourism show, etc. |

Table 5: Types of culture-related public events held in art factories



Figure 21: Shanghai Sculpture Space

Led by public events, new communities gradually emerged around the art factories. They mainly comprised of artists, middle-class consumers, travelers, citizens and so on. Many local and foreign artists working and living in art

factories were attracted to it by its historical setting like the old industries, historical stories, and the old Shikumen buildings. Moreover, their main interest was in the cultural atmosphere and the presence of various social groups. An international community had soon formed in art factories, which was influential enough to set the fashion trends. These post-industrial art districts attracted a lot of foreigners, working or shopping around. Sometimes they even outnumbered the local people, and consequently the alleys in Tian Zi Fang or yards in M50 had no difference from the western cityscapes (Figure 21). Besides, the lifestyle of local youth and white-collared people became the predominating feature of the people in art factories: they were keener than the older generation in participating in fashion consumptions, social lives, nightlife parties, and public art activities. For example, a small square outside M50 on Moganshan Road became a skating and bicycling ground. It was decorated by graffiti and was always crowded with neighborhood teenagers. The new urban public spaces emerged around the art factories often become stages for the young generation (Figure 22).



Figure 22: Foreigners sitting in a yard in Tian Zi Fang
Source: (photo by Hee, Limin)



Figure 23: Moganshan Road: the small bicycling square outside M50

4.1.2 Neighborhood Communities: the Widening Gaps in Relocation and Polarisation

Shanghai started a large-scale downtown reconstruction since the 1990s, covering the old residential blocks and slums with poor living conditions. However, the incomplete regeneration in slum areas was in sharp contrast to the renovated ones. Many new apartments in the downtown were built for the rich, but their adjoining neighborhoods were often living in poverty and waiting to be relocated for a better living condition (Figure 23). The social polarization was so stark in the downtown that there may only lay a thin wall between the rich and poor. Art factories sometimes amplified this polarization by attracting fashionable businesses and luxurious consumptions to the area.



Figure 24: The slums on Moganshan Road, surrounded by high-rise housing



Figure 25: The old Linong housing on Haifang Road, next to Tong Le Fang

Also, the rebirth of these post-industrial districts may also lead to a hard situation for residents on the site. In the Linong alleys, residential buildings were often mixed with small-scale factories. The whole site was divided among numerous landowners. When the industrial buildings were renovated and transformed into art factories, some parts of the site were also redeveloped independently, while some other parts remained intact. The simultaneous presence of old and the new was formed in a “mosaic pattern” on the site. As many

different factories linked together to become a large-scale art factory area, the old residential buildings often became the fragmented and isolated pieces on the post-industrial site (Figure 24). Moreover, the original site redevelopment plan was brushed off because of the need to preserve the art factories and their industrial heritage. As a result, the residents in the post-industrial districts could neither be relocated nor involved into the new art development. As Sharp argues in the Docklands example (Smith 1993), “there are many who are marginalised by processes of redevelopment, or who are displaced by the processes of regeneration.” (Sharp, Pollock, and Paddison 2005, p.1016)

Case Studies: No. 503 Nong, Haifang Road, Tong Le Fang

The original planning proposal of the triangular site was to relocate all residents and demolish the dilapidated buildings, thereby changing it into an urban park. With Tong Le Fang redevelopment project, the government decided to temporarily stop this master plan and postpone it for twenty years. This cessation of the area regeneration offended the residents: many of them had lived in the dark, gloomy, congested, and old Linong housing for years (Figure 25). Some family did not even have a private toilet in their house. For them it was better to be relocated to suburban areas rather than live in downtown in squalor and poverty. Moreover, living beside the bars and clubs of Tong Le Fang was troublesome. The noise often disturbed the neighborhoods in the nighttime. Consequently, they kept complaining and appealing to the government for improvements in living conditions (Figure 26).

However, the local authorities totally neglected the neighborhood's problems. The Linong housing was preserved as a part of the Tian Zi Fang historical site without any investigation on the public opinion. It was treated as a “memorial” or “icon” for the past Shanghainese life. The government also repainted its brick walls and provided awnings on every window to beautify the exterior of the residential buildings. As the “public images” were beautified when keeping tourism considerations in mind, the authorities ignored its effect on the private lives of the residents, even if they were suffering from poverty. The similar thing also happened in M50 art factory. The government's neglect further excluded local residents from urban regeneration and policy making process, so that the residents did not have any chance to express opinions on the issue that concerned themselves. As a result, they were resistant, and even sometimes hostile to the newly emerged art factories.



Figure 26: Residential buildings in 503 Nong, separated from Tong Le Fang by walls



Figure 27: Residents complaining of the poor living conditions

It was difficult for the government to renovate residential areas without impetus from commercial interests. Near M50, the walls were covered with graffiti, some of which expressed the dissatisfaction of artists and residents with the government's for-profit development strategy. As stated:

“Public space is tightly controlled by capitalism and the capitalist state... Local people felt that not only had they been dispossessed by the new developments but that they had been written out of this new landscape... The gentrified landscape romanticised a particular part of the area's history, focusing on middle-class cultures of consumption rather than working class cultures of production from the area”. (Sharp, Pollock, and Paddison 2005, p.1015)

Facing the difficulties in government-led regeneration, some residents reacted spontaneously for improvements in the living conditions. By renting their houses to artist studios, designing companies, galleries or to be reused for other

commercial purposes, they could earn high rental returns. This enabled their families to move to nearby apartments with better living conditions. It is obvious that Tian Zi Fang art district, where a large number of Linong residential buildings were preserved with traditional architectural styles and precious cultural values, were very attractive to the artists. To protect the original atmosphere of the area, the residents had even set up a supervising group to make sure that their houses were leased only to art-related tenants, and no big changes were made on the buildings. This spontaneous residential relocation started initially among those living in lower floors, turning the residential housing into “shophouses”⁸⁴. They were eventually followed by residents living in upper floors. This market-oriented movement resulted in the exodus of local residents and the influx of artists and businessmen. A wealthy class, though not very predominating at this stage, was taking the place of local residents, and finally the replacement of residents resulted in diversification and further spatial expansion of the art district.

For those residents who did not wish to move out of the traditional Linong block, the transformation of the post-industrial site proved beneficial. In Tian Zi Fang the elegant and cleaner surrounding environments became a source of pride to the local communities. There was also an increase in communication between artists and the residents. Some galleries in Tian Zi Fang provided low-cost exhibitions and free art education to the neighborhood children. The local youth were also keen in participating in public art activities. Some elderly retired residents living closely to artistic studios and shops were often hired as

⁸⁴ Here “shophouses” (also mentioned in Chapter 3) refer to the low-rise residential buildings with ground floor occupied by shops, galleries and other art-related uses, while the residents still living upstairs. It’s different in terms of architectural types and features with the “shophouses” in other context (for example, in Singapore). It is actually quite common for ground-floor residential spaces to be reused as commercial spaces in the local context.

doorkeepers. The intimate and harmonious communal relationship of the traditional Shanghai Linong community did not change much but became more comprehensive after the influx of artists. “Taikang Road belongs to the citizens. Rather than a luxurious business district, it is still artless, amiable and easy to approach. Simple and natural lifestyles are rediscovered here.” (Zheng 2004 Jul 15, p.H3)

The different attitudes of the residents towards art factories show ambivalent feelings on this art-led regeneration. On one hand, due to the traditional friendly atmosphere in Linong communities, residents in Linong blocks were more eager (than the residents living in modern housing blocks) to participate in public cultural activities and to be a part of the new artist community. Meanwhile, the need to improve and preserve the original Linong life style was voiced by architects and urban planners, and it was greatly appreciated by consumers, travelers and the local artists. On the other hand, this had put residents in a dilemma. They were concerned more about their own living conditions than the intangible cultural values. They hoped to preserve the Linong wards, but they also wanted to live in a better environment, rather than living in the congested Linong housing. In the regeneration scheme of historical residential sites, it is important to maintain a proper balance between the preservation of art factory and the measures to improve the living condition of the residents.

4.2 The Implications for Shanghai's Planning and Regeneration Strategies

4.2.1 A Step to Democratic Planning

Like other Chinese metropolises, Shanghai has undergone the “development mania” for many years. Although it has the most diverse architecture inherited from the colonial and industrial ages, many of its large urban historical areas were demolished since the late 1980s to make way for mass housing and the grand and magnificent cityscapes. For a long time, urban planning was strictly controlled by the government and state-directed planning agencies. Suppressed by the rigid “tabula rasa” planning guidelines, many precious and original “Shanghai-style” architecture (like Shikumen housing) and historical Linong blocks were demolished. Over the past decade, a need to preserve the city's traditional culture and image was strongly voiced, and Shanghai government gradually realized the flaw of their grand plans. Subsequently, they began to improve the urban planning system and began to emphasize urban preservation and the historical context in the downtown plans.

M50 was perhaps the first and most famous successfully preserved art factory where the battle between the artists and the planning authorities broke out⁸⁵. To protect this newly emerged art haven, the conservation group, which included artists, professionals, urban scholars, and citizens, questioned the demolishing plans made for Moganshan industrial block and lobbied for industrial heritage preservation. They finally succeeded in not only preserving M50, but also in getting the planning proposal of Suzhou Creek waterfronts changed. Consequently, a new master plan was prepared to preserve the heritage buildings,

⁸⁵ Before M50 there are already many art warehouses being demolished, as mentioned in Chapter 2.

to construct large riverfront green belts and to combine art factories with cultural leisure parks. Teng Kun Yen, who was the first person to introduce the idea of Suzhou Creek riverfront cultural conservation district, described the shifting urban planning strategy as, “this was a case without precedent in China’s urban planning history...It changes our impression that in China it was always a small minority (government and planning authorities) making decisions for the city”. (2006, p. 22) His suggestions on Suzhou Creek historical cultural conservation district were finally adopted by the government and partially realized in Wuzhen Road Bridge-Zhejiang Road Bridge warehouse belt⁸⁶.

Many downtown post-industrial districts were originally planned to be modern residential blocks or commercial centers. M50 was not the only instance where the government had changed its original plan to pave the way for art factories. In the late 1990s, Taikang Road block was nearly demolished to build a superblock that would be able to accommodate around 1,000 residents. With the emergence of Tian Zi Fang art district, the historical Linong area was finally preserved by the government at the expense of losing considerable revenue. It had significant implications for other urban historical districts. The government started to replicate the “Taikang Road” model in other potential areas, where the preserved traditions, locality and the new cultural activities were combined to animate the place.

⁸⁶ For details of Suzhou Creek warehouse belt conservation district, please see the case study in Chapter 4.

The artists moved a lot from one place to another, and hence, are called the “guerilla in the city”⁸⁷. They found a lot of potential industrial spaces and changed them into art factories, which diversified urban spaces that could never have happened by the government-led urban planning. As a result, many scholars suggested that the government should allow a spontaneous, gradual, public-participating way for urban redevelopment as a new planning method (Xu 2005). Public participation, hence become an important part of contemporary urban planning. It stressed on the fundamental needs of citizens rather than the developers and the policy makers. The Binjiang Creative Park, initiated and planned by Teng, was a good example of public participation in the policy making procedures. Although public participation measures like investigations by public or public hearings were not common yet in Shanghai’s planning-making procedures, it was making a lot of progress and was a success in some post-industrial districts.

The art factories have opened up a democratic way of urban planning, which is not new in the western world but has significant implications in the present Shanghai. Following a top-down planning mode for years, many problems were caused by the hasty demolishing plans that focused solely on the short-term interests. The new bottom-up development path of art factories changed this situation. As Shao (2005) stated, the breaking of the single top-down redevelopment approach meant that we could avoid “the subordination of the majority to the minority” in urban planning (Ibid, p.34). Although in most cases the public participation in art factories remained limited to a small group of

⁸⁷ The word “guerilla in the city” (“都市游击队”) was used by Xu (2005, p.53) to describe those migrant artists.

“elites” (like urban scholars and architects), however, it was felt that not only the local authorities, but the people living in the city, had the right to participate in decision makings of urban planning.

4.2.2 New Policies, Strategies and Cross-Institutional Collaboration in Promoting Urban Renewal

Since the 1980s, Shanghai government started executing a series of urban planning policies to protect urban historical heritage buildings, which had been grossly undervalued and ignored for a long time. Ruan and Zhang’s study (2004) shows that from 1989 to 1999 planning authorities had started to pay attention to urban post-industrial districts. As a result, many historical industrial buildings in the districts were included in the heritage preservation list (Table 6).

| Year | | 1989 | 1993 | 1999 | Total Number |
|--|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|--------------|
| Number of Historical Valuable Heritage Buildings | | 61 | 175 | 162 | 398 |
| Among Above | Industrial Heritage | 1 | 12 | 15 | 28 |
| | Percentage | 1.64% | 6.86% | 9.26% | 7.04% |

Table 6: The percentage of industrial heritage in the preserved historical valuable buildings (1989-1999)

Source: (Ruan and Zhang 2004, p.53)

On 25 July 2002, the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress discussed and enacted *Shanghai Municipality Regulation regarding Protection of Historical and Cultural Scenic Spots and Excellent Historic Architecture*.⁸⁸ This act was implemented to preserve the old industrial

⁸⁸ Shanghai Shi Lishi Wenhua Fengmao Qu He Youxiu Lishi Jianzhu Baohu Tiaoli (上海市历史文化风貌区和优秀历史建筑保护条例), See Shanghai Government website (Chinese): <http://www.shanghai.gov.cn/shanghai/node2314/node3124/node3177/node3181/userobject6ai1126.html>

buildings which were built more than thirty years ago and typified the industrial history of China. Many downtown workshops, factories, warehouses, and shophouses were included in this preservation list, like Xinhe Spinning Mill (M50), Fuxin Flour Mill on Moganshan Road, the warehouses besides Suzhou Creek and the factories on Huangpu riverfront. In 2003, Shanghai government declared twelve large-scope historical featured conservation districts⁸⁹ (Figure 27) that were to be preserved in their historical and traditional cultural form. They cover a total of 27 km² area, which is around one-third of the old downtown area (Wu and Wang 2006). Moreover, 83% of the preserved historical buildings in Shanghai locate in the twelve conservation districts (Wang 2006). Besides, the government's new conservation scheme also included those post-industrial blocks that exhibit the gradual historical transformation of the city (Han, Xu, and Huang 2004). For instance, Taikang Road block, which was formed in the early 1920s with a mixed land use of residential and industrial areas. This whole district was preserved⁹⁰ as a precursor for historical conservation of Linong residential blocks. Lead by experts and scholars⁹¹, a conservation and revitalization plan of Taikang Road block was developed on the 70,000-square-meter-site. These conservation policies became the threshold upon which the post-industrial districts were to be preserved, reformed and revitalized in the downtown.

⁸⁹ The twelve historical featured conservation districts are: The Bund (外滩), Lao Cheng Xiang (老城厢), People's Square (人民广场), Hengshan Road-Fuxing Road (衡山路-复兴路), West Nanjing Road (南京西路), Yuyuan Road (愚园路), Xinhua Road (新华路), Shanyin Road (山阴路), Ti Lan Qiao (提篮桥), Jiang Wan (江湾), Long Hua (龙华), Hongqiao Road (虹桥路). They are officially called "the twelve preservation sections of the historical and cultural scenes in Shanghai" in governmental documents.

⁹⁰ It was established by the government as Taikang Road Historical Featured Conservation District.

⁹¹ Ruan, Y. S., et al., (2004). Concept Plan for Preservation and Use of Taikang Road Historical Featured Conservation District, National Research Center of Historic Cities, Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute, Shanghai.



Figure 28: Sketch map of the twelve historical cultural featured conservation districts
Source: Based on the map exhibited in Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Center

With the new redevelopment strategies, the government took initiative in the preservation and renovation of historical districts. Shanghai Sculpture Space was such a project that was set out directly by Shanghai Planning Bureau. It was taken as a pilot project to prepare for the large-scale preservation and redevelopment in Shanghai 2010 Expo. The government had planned to preserve 30% of the industrial buildings on the waterfront Expo site and to gradually change them into exhibition halls or cultural centers.⁹²

Despite all the progressive preservation policies and planning strategies, there were still many rigid urban planning regulations that had to be changed.

⁹² Please see the case study in Chapter 4.3.2 for details of the Shanghai 2010 Expo project.

Wang (2006) states that the urban policy system (including land management, planning policies and building management, etc.) was perhaps the most important determinant for historical cultural preservation and reuse. For instance, many existing planning principles, such as the criteria for building construction, restriction on building densities and the width of roads, and other such planning regulations, were made for new site plans rather than conservation plans. So they could not be simply applied without any change to the preserved and revitalized old districts. New planning policies should be made and implemented specifically to the old post-industrial districts.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, Shanghai's economic redevelopment strategies also played an important role in promoting the development of art factories. It is mainly shown by the government's increasing emphasis on "creative industries" that were closely associated with the design-based productions, entertainments, consumptions, and art-related businesses. In 2005, *Shanghai's Action Plan for Speeding up the Development of the Modern Services Sector*⁹³ was published with the aim to change the "creative industry" into Shanghai's pillar industry and accelerate the economic growth. As a result, Shanghai Economic Committee had become another governmental department beside urban planning authorities, to be in charge of the art factory development. In November 2004, Shanghai Creative Industry Center (SCIC)⁹⁴ was set up by Shanghai Economic Committee. This institution was set up to undertake the tasks of the management, commercial research, planning, feasibility study, investment

⁹³ Guanyu Shanghai Shi Jiasu Fazhan Xiandai Fuwu Ye De Ruogan Yijian, (上海加速发展现代服务业实施纲要), see Shanghai Government website (Chinese): <http://www.shanghai.gov.cn/shanghai/node2314/node2315/node4411/userobject21ai101199.html>

⁹⁴ The introduction of SCIC could be seen on its official website: <http://www.scic.gov.cn/english/introduction/index.htm#1>

counseling, policy making, as well as to provide a business platform to the various creative clusters. Until April 2008, it had authorized four groups of seventy-five such clusters⁹⁵ successively. Most of these clusters were renovated from previous post-industrial districts. “Until May 2006, over 50 creative clusters in Shanghai were established by SCIC, which could accommodate more than 3,000 design-based companies” (Shanghai Cultural Development Foundation 2006, p.82). The spontaneously developed art factories like M50 or Tian Zi Fang were also supervised by SCIC and were included in governmental management and planning system.

There were always discrepancies and conflicts among different government departments on the matters of art factories. Wu and Wang (2006) indicate that the presence of the many different branches within the same department lead to many conflicts in planning, managing and controlling. As a result, it was very important to facilitate cooperation between the economic, heritage conservation and urban planning institutions that were in charge of the art factories. The government had also set up a conservation committee office to enhance communication between different government sectors and hence, reduce conflicts. The cross-institutional cooperation between economic and planning departments encouraged the geographical concentration of art-related businesses in certain post-industrial districts, such as the “Fashion Hub”. Many studios and retail outlets of fashion and design industry were attracted by the renovated old factories. (Shanghai Economic Commission and Shanghai Creative Industry Center 2005, p.113)

⁹⁵ For detailed list of the 75 clusters, please see Appendix II.

In urban planning field, this cross-institutional cooperation started a new way to preserve the old urban districts, which shaped little by little over a long period of time. These “patchworks” included hundreds of small factories, shops and residential buildings with different property owners. Thus, they were difficult to relocate and develop as a whole unit. Only with the cooperation among different government institutions (including those in charge of urban planning, infrastructure, electricity, fire control, commerce and industry, cultural and cultural development) could these “patchwork” districts be redeveloped efficiently into art factories. For instance, Shanghai Sculpture Space project was implemented with the cooperation between Shanghai Guiding Committee of Public Sculpture and Shanghai Planning Bureau. These two departments were totally unrelated before, but together they began to explore a new way of urban regeneration that is based on history and led by culture.

4.3 Re-planning the Waterfronts: Art Factories and Urban Practices for Tomorrow

4.3.1 Re-planning the Art-concentrated Waterfronts

Shanghai, like many other great cities in the world, has rivers flowing through the interior of the city. This acted as a catalyst in its industrialization in the 20th century. Huangpu River flows from north to south through Shanghai, dividing the city into Pudong and Puxi⁹⁶. Suzhou Creek⁹⁷, a narrow branch of Huangpu River, flows from east to west across the downtown (Figure 28). Similar to the Seine of Paris or the River Thames of London, these two rivers add beautiful riverfront landscapes to the city. They also fostered the growth of cultural art districts in the waterfront industrial sites.

From the mid 20th century, Shanghai was fast developing into the largest industrial city in China. Many manufacturing sites were emerging along the rivers because of the convenient waterway transportation. Many local and foreign-invested factories in the downtown area concentrated on the north bank of Suzhou Creek (Zhabei District) and the west bank of Huangpu River (Yangpu District, Huangpu District and Luwan District). Nowadays, there are still many huge factories gathered along the Huangpu River, like shipbuilding and electronic equipment manufacturing factories. Ironically, the 50-meter-wide Suzhou Creek could not provide large-scale water transportation; and its downtown location was only able to provide small pieces of land for factories and warehouses.

⁹⁶ Huangpu River (Huangpu Jiang, 黄浦江), with an average width of 400 meters and a whole length of 113 kilometers, used to be a branch of Suzhou Creek, and flows into Yangtze River. Puxi (west of the river, 浦西) refers to the old city area and Pudong (east of the river, 浦东) is the newly developed district.

⁹⁷ Suzhou Creek (Suzhou He, 苏州河), another name is Wusong River (Wusong Jiang, 吴淞江), stems from Tai Lake (Tai Hu, 太湖) and flows to Suzhou City, so it was named after Suzhou. It is an average of 50 meters wide and 125 kilometers long (around 13 kilometers in Shanghai downtown, generally between Waibaidu Bridge and Caoyang Road Bridge).

Consequently, compared with Huangpu riverfront, the Suzhou Creek waterfront manufacturing sites were of a relatively smaller size. There were mostly warehouses, single industrial buildings, cotton mills, flourmills, and textile factories built in the mid 20th century with great historical values and traditional styles. “Currently along Suzhou Creek there are a total of 29 heritage buildings, if considering the junction area with Huangpu River, then the number is 43. Suzhou Creek area includes almost one tenth of the total number of heritage buildings in Shanghai.” (Xue 2004, p.1)



Figure 29: Huangpu River and Suzhou Creek flowing through the downtown
Source: photo taken on the city model of Shanghai, Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Center

Of the two rivers in Shanghai, Suzhou Creek was earlier involved with the art factory movement because of its downtown location. As Wynne said, inevitably “the diversity and magnitude of cultural quarter development will be greatest in the city centre” (1992, p.13) . This is evident from the fact that since the past ten years, Shanghai’s art factories are mostly setting up in the downtown area along the Suzhou Creek. “From west to east along the creek, you may find waterfront art factories like Zhoujiaqiao, E Warehouse, M50, Jing’an Creative Park, and Sihang

Warehouse in sequence” (Zhou 2006 Dec 05, p.T02). Recently, in downtown Huangpu District and Xuhui District, the forgotten Huangpu riverfront industrial areas are also being renovated for contemporary art uses, like Wai Ma Lu Warehouse⁹⁸ and other art factories. Recently the scope of art factories also extended to the suburban Huangpu riverfront⁹⁹, where many huge factories, built during the 1920-40s were declining. The 2010 Shanghai Expo was planned to be organized on the post-industrial site beside Huangpu River, as a result, the forthcoming event encouraged a trend to restore and reuse waterfront industrial buildings and districts on the riverfront land.

As mentioned before, the government decided to change its initial urban plan to the one that supported art factory development. These new concept plans were not just limited to art factory, but were also extended to the large urban area. For example, Tian Zi Fang art district led to the promotion of the new concept planning of the whole Taikang Road block. Similarly, the art factories along Suzhou Creek and Huangpu River often encouraged renovation plans in the whole waterfront area. These post-industrial areas could be revitalized through some cultural, leisure developments and sometimes with additional green landscapes. The following four cases will elaborate on different aspects of the re-planning of Suzhou Creek and Huangpu River waterfronts, which was supported by the collaboration of the government and other social groups.

⁹⁸ Wai Ma Lu Warehouse is included in SCIC’s list of creative clusters. See Appendix II and the map of Shanghai art factories.

⁹⁹ Compared to the past, more art factories were recently built along Huangpu River on the post-industrial sites, mostly in Pudong and Yangpu Districts. When Pudong District began to be developed in the 1990s, it was still suburban area far away from Shanghai downtown. Now urban sprawl has changed Pudong from suburb to another central downtown business district.

4.3.2 Suzhou Creek: Rebuilding a Cultural and Livable Downtown

Flowing through the inner city, Suzhou Creek was heavily polluted by the waste water and the rubbish from riverfront factories in the past. The grimy slums¹⁰⁰, which had set up besides the creek, were also blighting the downtown. The walls that were built along the riverbank for prevention of flood separated the river from its surroundings. Ironically, according to Teng Kun Yen, “the riverfront industrial heritage were preserved from demolishment just because of the heavy pollution of the creek” (2006, p.17), as it was difficult for new projects to be developed in such a polluted environment. In 1998, Shanghai Municipal Government began the Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation Project with the financial support from Asian Development Bank¹⁰¹. This project has successfully improved the water quality by building a better waste-water management system and flood control system, as well as by achieving the target of providing proper environmental sanitation in the waterfront downtown. This 12-year program (Phase I) facilitated the revitalization of riverfront areas, and consequently brought better living conditions to its inhabitants.

Following the radical improvements in the environmental conditions, the development mania also brought rapidly transforming skylines to Suzhou Creek waterfront. New developments such as high-rise residential and commercial buildings were constructed and the waterfront walks and landscape were privatized. All this led to the doubled land price in a very short period of time. With the innumerable high-rise buildings built along the narrow creek, a “Suzhou

¹⁰⁰ The slums are mainly concentrated in the “San Wan Yi Nong (三湾一弄)” areas along the creek, mostly in Putuo and Zhabei District.

¹⁰¹ See Asian Development Bank’s online report (2005): *Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation Project (Loan 1692-PRC) In the People's Republic of China*. www.adb.org/Documents/PCRs/PRC/pcr-prc-32121.pdf [Aug 09 2007]

Creek Valley” was formed (Figure 29). The government had to change its for-profit riverfront redevelopment strategies and bring back the natural creek view to its citizens because of the criticism it faced from urban scholars and the public. Strict planning regulations were established, and hence in subsequent waterfront projects the height of the buildings could not exceed its distance from the creek.



Figure 30: The newly developed high-rise housing overlooking Suzhou Creek

Moreover, the government included certain facets of heritage preservation, cultural value and environmental amenity into waterfront planning. In 2001, a new planning proposal for Suzhou Creek waterfronts¹⁰² was formed, which aimed to preserve many riverfront heritage buildings, historical districts as well as to build public riverfront walks, parks and other leisure facilities. In the new master plan, the preserved industrial heritage buildings and art districts were to be concentrated into two riverfront cultural conservation zones (Figure 30). One would be Moganshan Block, where M50 is located, and the other one would be “the warehouse belt” that ranges from Wuzhen Road Bridge to Zhejiang Road Bridge.

¹⁰² The new plan ranges from the Bund to West Zhongshan Rd., covers the 13-kilometer-long Suzhou Creek and its adjacent districts in six districts (Hongkou, Zhabei, Huangpu, Jing'an, Putuo, and Chang'ning Districts).

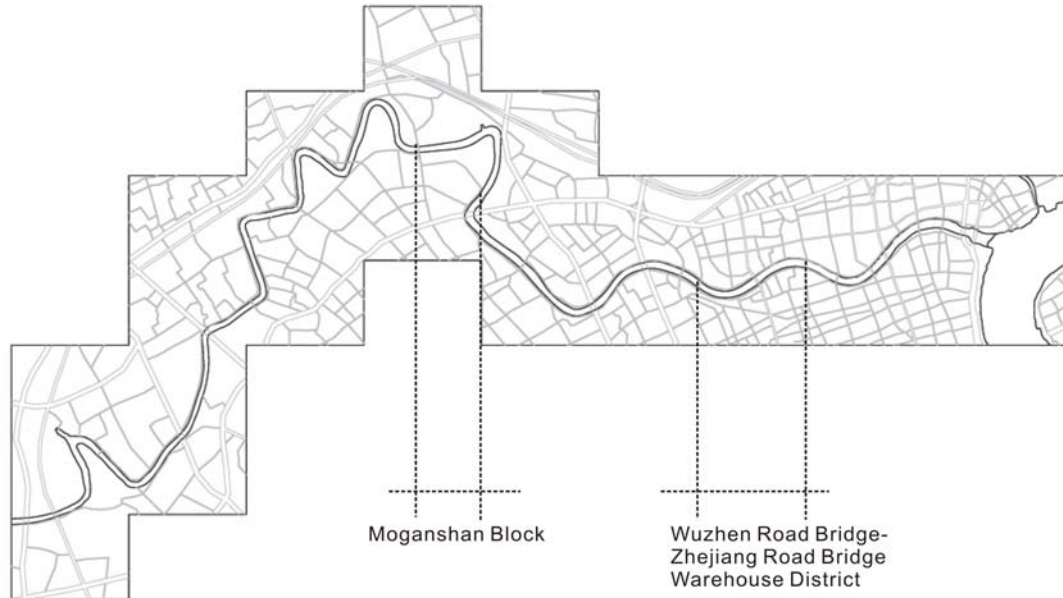


Figure 31: Two major cultural conservation zones along Suzhou Creek

Case Studies: “Warehouse Belt”

In the middle 20th century, there were many industrial buildings, like warehouses and small factories, situated around Zhejiang Road Bridge and Xizang Road Bridge¹⁰³ along Suzhou Creek (Figure 31). Nearly all of them were preserved and now they make up of the famous Suzhou Creek Warehouse Belt.

Since Teng Kun Yen’s studio, a restored warehouse in No.1305 South Suzhou Road, got the UNESCO Asian-Pacific Heritage Award in 2004¹⁰⁴, Suzhou Creek riverfront warehouses were subsequently occupied with artist studios and galleries, including the well-known ShanghART Gallery and Eastlink Gallery. As these art clusters became famous, the government established a riverfront cultural

¹⁰³ Xizang Road Bridge locates in the middle of Zhejiang Road Bridge and Wuzhen Road Bridge (the cultural conservation district-warehouse belt).

¹⁰⁴ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2004 Honorable Mention—Suzhou River Warehouse, China.

conservation zone between Zhejiang Road Bridge and Wuzhen Road Bridge to protect the “art warehouse belt”¹⁰⁵. The art warehouses were mostly located in West Suzhou Road and Guangfu Road on both sides of the riverbank (Figure 32).

The revivification of the 1000-meter-long waterfront warehouse belt was partly because of the rapid mounting up of rentals in other art districts. Many artists moved their studios out from M50 to look out for cheaper studios in the warehouse belt. Many artists settled down here and started to persuade the government to support their new planning proposals of the riverfront area. They wanted the natural, cultural, and artistic riverfront warehouse belt to consist of diverse cultural and leisure facilities, such as artist studios, media centers, galleries, shops, bars, bookstores, retails, and consequently to become a famous cultural district and tourism destination.

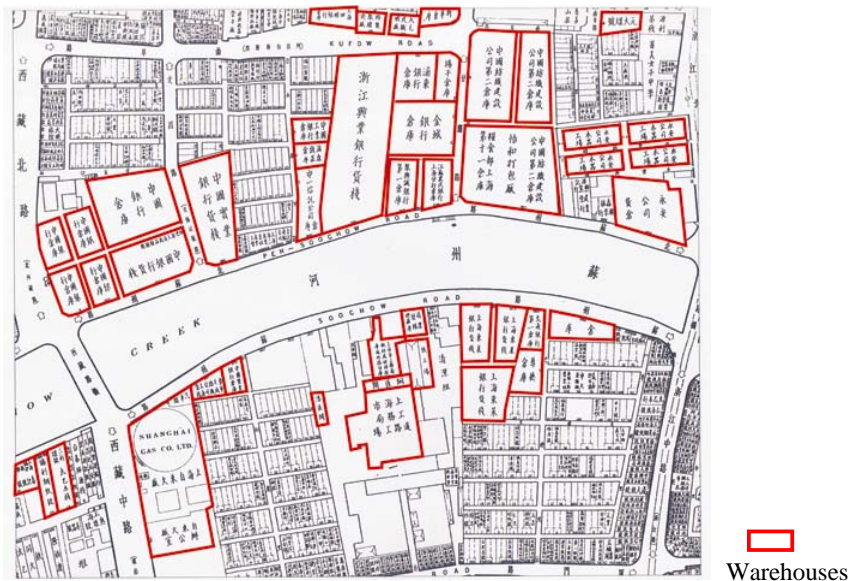


Figure 32: Historical map on part of the Suzhou Creek warehouses belt (between Zhejiang Road Bridge and Xizang Road Bridge, in the 1940s)

Source: based on the Suzhou Creek map collected by Zheng, Z.A. (2006, p.93)

¹⁰⁵ Some art warehouses, like Teng’s warehouse (between Wuzhen Road Bridge and Xinzha Road Bridge), were spread out of this range (Wuzhen Road Bridge-Zhejiang Road Bridge), but they were protected as same.



Figure 33: Sihang-Guang'er Warehouse in Suzhou Creek warehouse belt, now filled by art studios and design companies

Case Studies: Moganshan Block and Meng Qing Yuan

Moganshan Block is a large-scale post-industrial district located besides Suzhou Creek. It contains many factories that date back to the 1930s. In the mid 20th century, Moganshan Block belonged to the famous “West-Shanghai Industrial Quarter”. The earliest Chinese domestic industries emerged and prospered here. Among them many flour mills, cotton textile mills and other factories still exist.¹⁰⁶ M50, the well-known art district, was renovated from one of the cotton textile mills in the block.

Although M50 is just a small part of the Moganshan Block, its emergence has led to the re-planning of the whole riverfront area. Many scholars and artists started making field investigations of Moganshan Block and Suzhou Creek waterfronts, and conceive planning proposals and suggestions which they ultimately sent to the government (Xu, Han, and Huang 2005). Many scholars contended that most of the industrial buildings should be preserved as galleries

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix I, the industrial context of M50.

and museums. Large green areas, waterside walks, and docks for cruise ships should be built to meet the need of public's leisure activities such as tourism, parties, ceremonies and pageants. The government heeded seriously to these suggestions and commissioned Tongji University¹⁰⁷ in 2004 to make the master plan of Moganshan Block (Figure 33).

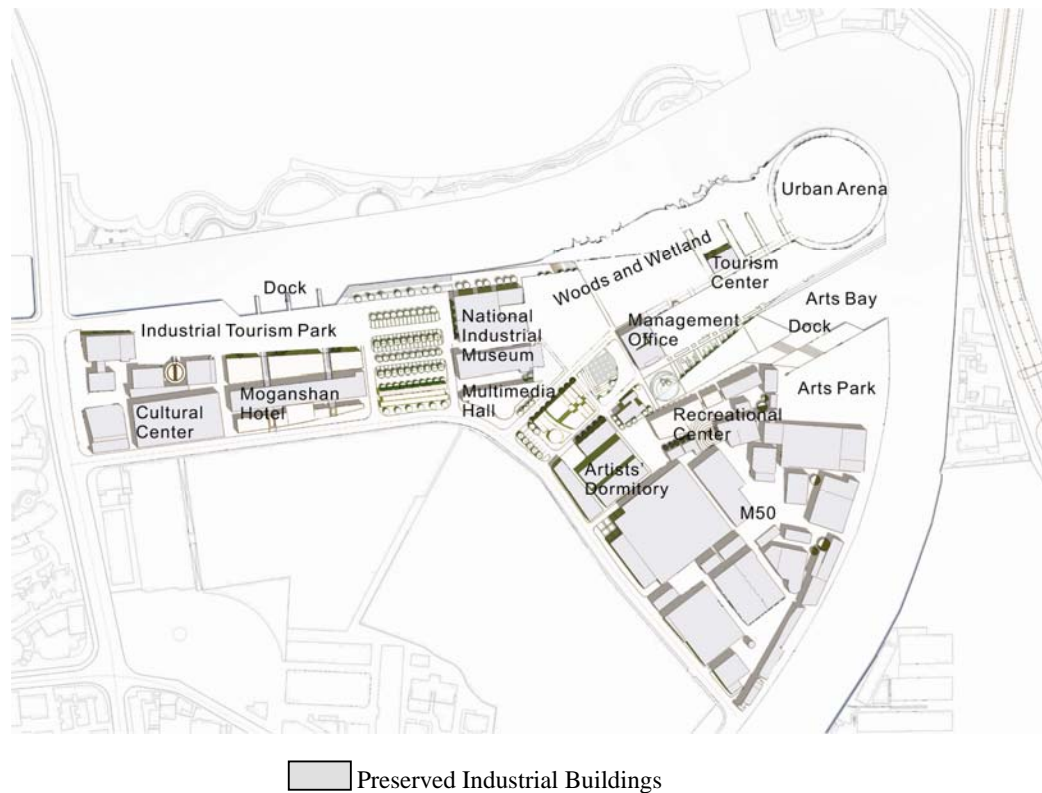


Figure 34: The new masterplan of Moganshan Block

Source: based on the master plan made by National Research Center of Historic Cities and Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute, 2004

Moreover, another large waterfront green space “Meng Qing Yuan” (Figure 34) was built on the U-shape turn of the creek near Moganshan Block in 2003. Influenced by M50, the planning authorities decided to renovate the dilapidated workshops of Shanghai Union Brewery into exhibition centers, museums and

¹⁰⁷ The official master plan was made by National Research Center of Historic Cities and Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute.

leisure developments. (Huang and Mao 2006) Meng Qing Yuan was also planned to be connected to Moganshan Block by using cruise ships on the creek. Hence, the two blocks would provide a large-scale cultural leisure spaces for tourists and residents, and become part of the Suzhou Creek waterfront green belt system (Figure 35).



Figure 35: Meng Qing Yuan
Source: (Shanghai Archives Bureau 2006, p.267)

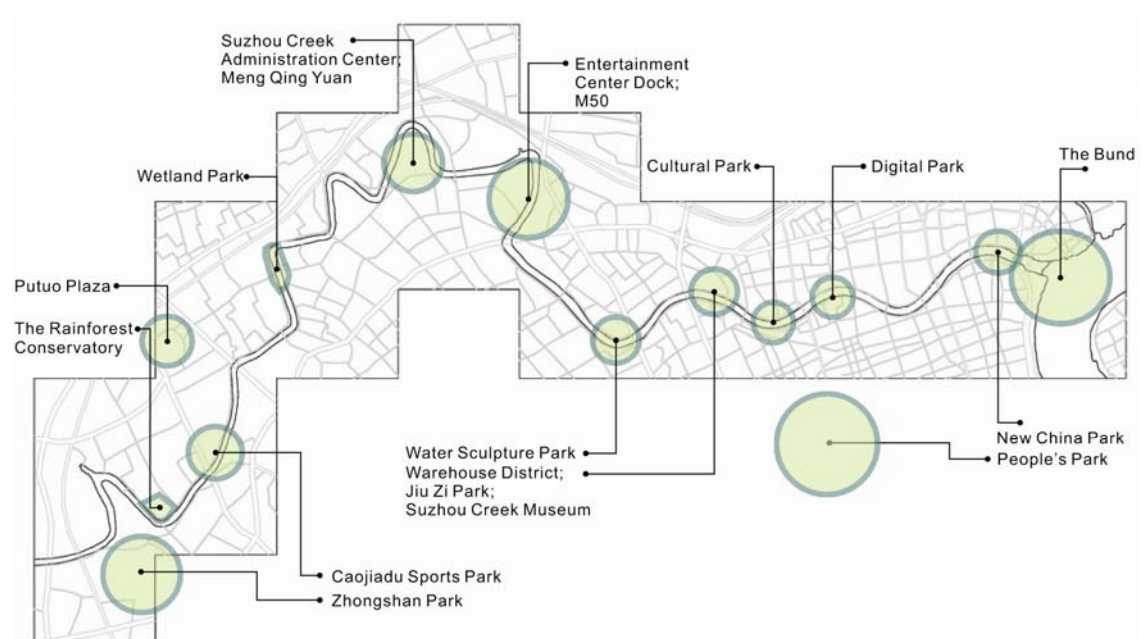


Figure 36: Suzhou Creek waterfront green belt system, planned by Shanghai Urban Planning Bureau.

Source: based on the map from National Research Center of Historic Cities and Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute, 2004

4.3.3 Huangpu River: Culture-led Development in a Post-industrial City

Case Studies: The 2010 Shanghai Expo Site

Huangpu riverfront industrial districts were preserved in a different manner from the Suzhou Creek. Rather than being spontaneously reused by individual artists, they were directly developed by the government and involved in large-scale urban renewal and cultural development. The 2010 Shanghai Expo acted as a catalyst for the renovation of large waterfront factories. For example, Qiu Xin Machinery & Ship Factory and Jiangnan Shipyard which dated back to the early 20th century were located on the west bank (Pu Xi) of Huangpu River as a part of the expo site (Figure 36). In this project, most of the industrial buildings were to be preserved (Figure 37). The workshops with good structural quality, spacious interiors and beautiful waterfront scenic views, were transformed into exhibition halls and museums. After the mega event of the expo, it was decided that they would remain open to the public for cultural and art use. Across the river on the east bank (Pu Dong), there were also some large factories that were being planned to be reused, such as Shanghai No.3 Steel Factory. These pilot projects were instrumental in paving the way for Shanghai's subsequent sustainable redevelopment of post-industrial waterfronts.

The huge mechanical equipments and docks of the riverfront factories had become monumental landmarks of the cityscape. For Shanghaiese, these conservation projects evoked a sense of belongingness as well as nostalgia for the past industrial era. The cultural roles of waterfronts, as indicated by some urban

scholars, comprised of two parts: the “opportunities for soul-searching (historical assets, cultural relics, local cultural & traditions)” and “connecting cultural & community (public access, zoning & mixed-use development, cultural facilities & activities, public participation)” (Hee and Tee 2006, p.137).



Figure 37: Sino-French Qiu Xin Machinery and Ship Factory, Built in 1902
Source: Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Center



Figure 38: The preserved factories and major industrial buildings on Pu Xi Expo site
Source: (Chen et al. 2006)

Case Studies: Binjiang Creative Park

Located besides Huangpu River at No. 2218 Yangshupu Road in the suburban Yangpu District, the Binjiang¹⁰⁸ Creative Park is perhaps the first urban

¹⁰⁸ “Binjiang” (“滨江”) means “the riverfront”.

regeneration project that was initiated and planned by individual artists. Teng Kun Yen, who brought into being the Suzhou Creek art warehouse preservation project, also planned the new large-scale cultural and art district on the post-industrial riverfront.

With the support of the local government, Teng rented the waterfront manufacturing site from Yangpu Electric Auxiliary Machinery Factory. The factory was built in 1921, comprised of thirty industrial buildings and soon became the largest electrical factory of GE Asia. Different from the declining industrial landscape in the downtown, in the territory of the factory there were beautiful waterfront green landscapes (Figure 38). In Teng's planning proposal, it was to be built into an environment friendly, quiet yet vibrant art space that will be full of galleries, studios, designing companies and will have many leisure facilities (Figure 39). The creative park would provide space for various types of service industry, such as exhibition centers, art-related retail outlets, bars and restaurants. Besides, it would be subdivided into many theme zones, like the environmental art zone, industrial design zone, fashion design zone, video & image zone, and software design zone (Teng 2006, p.76). Phase I of the project was completed in 2005. Moreover, after beginning this transformation in Binjiang Creative Park, Yangpu Government further planned to gradually renovate the large-scale manufacturing sites near Huangpu River (including many factories like the electric power plants, water plants, gasworks, food products factory and cotton textile mills) into creative clusters and art districts.



Figure 39: Binjiang Creative Park with a green landscape

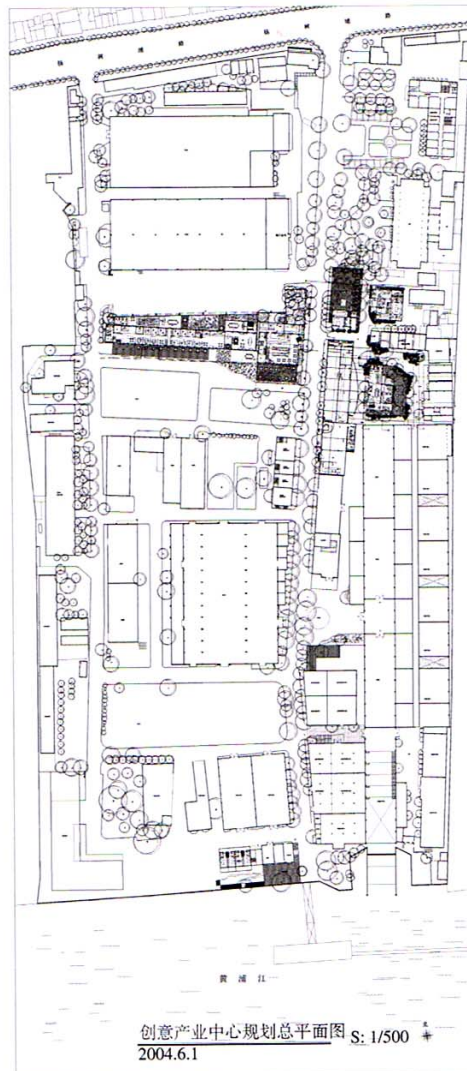


Figure 40: Teng's masterplan of Binjiang Creative Park
Source: (Teng 2006, p.76)

Chapter Five: Conclusions

5.1 Rethinking the “Art Factory” Practices in an Urban Perspective

5.1.1 The Development and Consequences of Art Factories

The “art factory” practice in China emerged in the early 1990s and soon became popular all over the country. Though sharing similar urban historical context (such as de-industrialization) with western cities, Shanghai has its own distinctive way for reuse and redevelopment. Such a development reflects the ideological changes and relaxation of social freedoms that has been brought about with the opening of her economy since 1970s. As stressed by Yang (2007), without the free market economy and mind-liberation brought by the reforms, the development of modern art districts and art movements would have not been possible in China.

Compared to other Chinese cities such as Beijing and Guangzhou, art factory development in Shanghai was different due to its metropolitan nature, historical context, the local culture and ideologies, social economic conditions and urban planning practices. Shanghai’s art factories are built mostly on small-scale derelict sites that are concentrated in the inner city, especially near waterfronts. Unlike Beijing or other large cities, Shanghai’s downtown renewal was relatively slow before the 1990s, and it has not been controlled by a strict urban planning system. As a result, the development of art and cultural nodes in Shanghai are in the form of scattered downtown “art factory” on post-industrial sites rather than suburban “art villages”, which are more common in other Chinese cities. Art factories in Shanghai started to emerge and flourish in the midst of recent urban regeneration

characterized by “chaotic” de-industrialization and increased commercialization. Although highly market-oriented, art factory practice has positive implications for the whole city development in spatial, social and political aspects as illustrated from the study.

The early driving forces in the art factory development were preservationists who argued for protection of Shanghai’s industrial heritage and individual artists who spontaneously reused the post-industrial buildings as sites for art creation and display. Their efforts have shown that there are other methods and options available for positive urban redevelopment rather than wholesale demolition and rebuilding. As mentioned, different social interest groups and players (governments, estate developers, property owners, artists, etc.) are involved in and interact through the various process modes, from the early grass root level spontaneous-occupation and bottom-up model, to the later government and developer-centric models of which, the latter models channeled early conflicts into effective partnerships. It is truism that creative expression, relaxation of social freedoms, cultural interactions, economic redistribution and cooperation brought about by art factories leads to a new reading and production of space in Shanghai; one that combines idealism with realism, pragmatism with aestheticism in the production of a different social-spatial order.

De Muynck (2007) mentioned that, inevitably art factories are being over-developed and have lost their prior quality. Art factories eventually became the victims of their own success like many other western cities as gentrification,

over-commercialization led to an increase in land prices and rentals, thus forcing out artists and replacing with profit-oriented enterprises.

5.1.2 The Creation of Public Space

The production of public spaces in art factories are influenced by fundamental elements such as physical, social, and planning contexts. These different interactions formed and defined the nature of public space and activities. For artists, the public space is an important by-product of the process of adaptive reuse and restoration and serves as a ready platform to explore various spatial practices, and at the same time, establish means of communications with the general public and like minded individuals. Art-related companies and individuals alike benefited from the close relationships created from living and working in close proximity with each other as they existed “in geographic and work areas where face to face interaction and networking is easier and interests are more closely aligned” (Rosenfeld 2004, p.903).

Evolved from the particular typology of the 20th century Shanghai factories, art factories not only encouraged the preservation and adaptive reuse of certain architectural types, but also engendered a new kind of mixed urban space that combines the social character of “traditional” public squares, semi-public working-leisure spaces or semi-private residential yards and yet differ from the above public spaces. In this thesis, these mixed characteristics are traced and examined through analysis of physical form of public spaces, such as the spatial accessibility or openness. The successful new urban spaces have demonstrated that urban renewal could be realized in a comprehensive and modest way—begin

with the refurbishment of old streets, facilities and architecture, new industries, functions and activities could be re-introduced to the urban area, and the places will continue to be active if good urban design and prudent planning strategies could follow.

In some art factory projects, these public spaces even extend out from the sealed art district to the city beyond and become knitted into the existing urban fabric. For example, the “Bridge of Creativity” in the Bridge 8 is a prominent public exhibition space that stands above the busy Central Jianguo Road. The public spaces in art factories have evolved, from the early “M50 model” (which is isolated, guarded and independent from the urban milieu), to more recent cases like Tian Zi Fang, which is open to the public and has closer interactions (often positive) with the urban surroundings. In fact, Tian Zi Fang art quarter itself not only comprises of post-industrial districts, but also includes a large part of the traditional residential wards with their bustling alleys, streets and vibrant activities. The spontaneously developed mix-use urban network and architectural diversities are not only about physical forms but could also be meaningful in future urban designing and planning methods.

Every art factory maintains a delicate balance between art-related and commercial usages. Whilst over commercialization—the replacement of the first generation of occupants (grassroots artists) by commercial and “creative” businesses—is usually negative for art development, the existence of commercial spaces in art factories have positive implications to the socio-urban environment as they provide “festival marketplaces” for citizens to enjoy (especially the

middle-classes). These post-industrial sites were revitalized as the commercial and leisure facilities of public spaces attracted numerous consumers and visitors, thus changing the socio-urban landscape of the once privately-occupied industrial sites. The commercialized public spaces, though heavily criticized, brought art districts closer to the city socially and economically, and have encouraged commercial and cultural developments in surrounding areas, thus knitting the isolated enclosed factories back into the larger urban network.

Art factories often carry changes that are reflective of the transition in the city's urban composition, skyline and culture. They (the art factories) represent the past and remind the city of its unique industrial history. Being from the previous era, art factories were usually formed in low-rise industrial estates and traditional courtyard styled residences; as the city is filled up with skyscrapers, art factories become the "valleys" in the rapid changing urban skyline. The rebuilding of the image and sense of place of art factories can be sometimes extreme, especially in government or developer-centric projects: old industrial images are either accompanied by newly built "monuments" to glorify the past (like the newly built steel frames in Tong Le Fang) or subsumed by new modern images (like the modern façades in the Bridge 8). However, despite this, there are also positive cases of sensitive adaptive reuse based on the principle of pragmatism, such as Tian Zi Fang and M50. While both carried "the danger of placing a particular 'culture' in a particular history" (Wynne 1992, p.90), the spontaneous reuse of the public spaces combined the old images more naturally with new refurbishments and contemporary usages.

The complex cultural layout of art factories makes them extremely fascinating to the urban scholar. Art factories combine elements from both the locality and global culture while nurturing a contemporary art-consuming public. The locality of public space is inseparable of its physical identity (traditional architecture, spatial diversity) and social-behavioral nature (the past collective industry, new art-culture related functions and consumptions, localized artworks and folk arts). The awareness of locality is further strengthened by art and cultural events, such as readapting the previous Zhijiang Theatre for contemporary performance art uses in Tong Le Fang. However the representation of the public space and spatial practices in art factories are the products of globalization and western ideas. Like the growing interest in public art consumption, they are deeply influenced by the western trends, culture and ideology. The forces of locality are thus in tension with globalization. Globalization, represented through the import of fantasized, exotic images carries the danger of turning art factories into the new “foreign towns” of Shanghai (just like “China towns” all over the world).

5.1.3 Communities, Public Participations and the Progressive Planning Practices

Local communities and civic interests are also important issues in the discussion on the art factories. Many Shanghai-style Linong factories, like in Tian Zi Fang and Tong Le Fang, are spatially and socially intertwined with residential lives. While “inside” the art territories, new networks and communities of artists, designers, office workers, consumers and travelers are created; the “outside” residential communities are often marginalized and precluded from this development. Similarly, while planning strategies and policies have preserved the

art factories from clearance schemes, they have also impeded the regeneration progress of the surrounding neighborhoods. Residents living in old Linong housings, as the less vocal, disadvantaged group, could not be relocated to new residential areas with better living conditions because of the historical preservation. In some cases, their interests were directly jeopardized by the newly emerged entertainment activities, like the noise of all-night parties. In Tian Zi Fang however, the residents worked a way out of their dilemma by spontaneously renting out their houses to artists and using the more favorable rental returns, to refinance apartments in newer neighborhoods. This synergy forms a mixed, mutual beneficial community of artists and residents and has brought a diversified, modern, lively, fashionable lifestyle into the heart of the old community.

The case of Tian Zi Fang is significant as it provides a new redevelopment method: the downtown historical districts can be selectively revitalized spontaneously according to user's needs, especially when the top-down planning is too disruptive or not applicable. For example, the infrastructure in Tian Zi Fang (such as road pavement, street lamps, plants, outdoor seating facilities) has been sensitively improved and financed by artists and residents rather than estate developers. The latter usually ruin the original features and lives of the historical district as they (without sufficient research and dialogue) implemented new schemes that did not sit well with the character of the locality and the needs of the residents. The success of Tian Zi Fang could perhaps become an exemplar for policy makers on the need for public participatory approach in urban planning and an efficient way of regeneration through conservation, without relying on the vast government and privately amassed capitals. Such an approach in modern urban

planning policy might engender meaningful outcomes for the greater public interests.

The emergence of Shanghai's art factories has awakened social consciousness and the importance of democratic planning approach in urban renewal. In many cases like M50, participation from artists, citizens and urban professionals has spearheaded the changes in urban policies on heritage preservation and regeneration. The Binjiang Creative Park, initiated and planned by individual artists, is another notable example of public participation in policy making procedures. In spite of this, public participation in art factories is still severely lacking as it is limited to the social elites; and in most cases, planning proposals are still being made without much public participation.

An important consequence of art factories is that planning authorities have become more aware of the economic and cultural possibilities that exist in the reuse of post industrial sites. They no longer pursue urban plans which involve wholesale demolition and redevelopment but would consider and adapt to existing art quarters. This has vast implications and profound impact beyond the art factories and extending to the larger scaled urban environment. Planning authorities have even in some cases repropoed whole master plans to complement art factories. These revised master plans were not just limited to the art territories but would usually include adjacent quarters. For example, it was only because of high profiled art factories like M50 that led to the Moganshan block masterplan—a large scaled plan for the regeneration of the surrounding decrepit post-industrial site into a new center for leisure and tourism. In this case,

the emergence of art factories provided impetus for the revitalization of obsolete and disadvantaged urban areas. However this exciting way of “art-factory-led regeneration” is still largely limited as many art factories, especially those in downtown, have already been surrounded by a renewed milieu and skyline. It would not be pragmatic or sensible in such scenarios, to redevelop the areas to complement art factories.

In recent years, the Shanghai government has launched a large-scale waterfront regeneration program—the Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation Project, to support art factories and improve the condition of its valuable waterfront heritage. Like other government-sponsored projects to clean up the environment such as Birmingham, Shanghai’s Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation project has become the catalyst for the revitalization of the obsolete industrial district. With the advent of the Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation Project, the creek, one of the areas with the largest concentration of factories and warehouses, has now become a geographic axis of art factory havens. To further encourage cultural development and associated complementary usages, the government has decreed a 1 km-long public cultural zone for the “art warehouse belt” along Suzhou Creek. Such planning strategy aims to connect and incorporate physically separated art factories (with various types of public spaces and leisure developments) into large-scale cultural-leisure networks for public enjoyment and participation along the waterfront. Examples include the Suzhou Creek green belt plan, which links waterfront parks with the art factories by water access. The Huangpu riverfront is also recycling large factories to prepare for the forthcoming Shanghai 2010 Expo. This may explain why De Muynck (2007) thinks that a “completely organic” art

factory means more than just displaying arts, but also an important way to bring amenity and “give a quality of life” to the city.

5.1.4 The Life and Death of Art Factories

In the past few years, encouraged by the prominent success of art factories in Shanghai, the government has set up official institutions, such as the SCIC¹⁰⁹, to guide and manage art district development. So far a total of 75 art clusters, consisting of mostly restored factories, has been identified and officially sanctioned¹¹⁰. The strategy to convert disused industrial estates to art factories became widely vaunted as a label of Shanghai’s “creative boom” and perceived as a panacea for renewal of the dilapidated downtown. However in reality, long term planning and development of the post-industrial districts by the authorities were sorely lacking especially in relation to the development of public spaces and immediate communities of art districts. Government-sponsored developments were criticized for undervaluing the importance of culture production and misreading the importance and strengths of grass root initiated art factories. The tightly knitted, social nature of public spaces in art factories are also largely misread and ignored by the authorities. Rather, the government’s focus was on economic outputs. Recently a number of flattened commercial and office buildings (sectors) are established everywhere under the name of “creative clusters”. This unselective and unstructured development strategy has in reality affected the overall quality and created a misleading perception of art factories. The copycat “creative clusters” may have reused and preserved urban

¹⁰⁹ Shanghai Creative Industry Center, as introduced in previous chapters.

¹¹⁰ The number of clusters is updated on May 2008. See Appendix II and Shanghai Creative Industry Center’s website: <http://www.scic.gov.cn/> [21 May 2008]

post-industrial sites and generate tax income temporarily, but they cannot animate a place and promote long-term urban regeneration that art factories can.

True art factories, no matter how commercialized they eventually become, differentiate themselves as art-led (culture-led) developments that promotes urban regeneration and vibrant public activities. To review the true nature and plan for future development of “art factories”, the intertwined issues of urban agenda, art & cultural values, public interests, policy making, and economic pursuits ought to be brought into a deeper discussion.

5.2 Contributions and Limitations

While it is the study of the physical transformation of public spaces and activities in art factories that are the focus in this research, social behaviors, placemaking, lifestyles and planning practices of post-industrial Shanghai are equally important issues. These are reviewed extensively under the following two areas:

- Physical space, images and spatial behaviors
- Social and political impact on urban regeneration

The study is perhaps the most comprehensive and systematic record of Shanghai's "art factories". It has extended existing knowledge by examining and analyzing Shanghai's recent urban redevelopment trends and unique forms of post-industrial site transformation. The study links the "art factory" discussion (the adaptive reuse of post industrial estates as a form of heritage preservation and cultural production) with Shanghai's regeneration topics such as gentrification, regeneration strategies, new directions for public planning policies, and lastly, the greater need for public participatory approach in urban planning were all touched upon. The discussion has further proposed a comprehensive framework to examine and study the art factory phenomenon. This is done through the interlinking of non-academic social, economic, commercial reports and existing urban research on art factories. The discussion is significant as presently, academic literature mostly focused on macro-level theoretical analysis (such as conservation and renewal issues) rather than the micro-level spatial graphic

studies and social investigations. Besides this, public space practices and interests, which are rarely discussed in China's art factory research, are also analyzed. This public practices will increasingly become more prominent and significant as more public art cultural centers (like Shanghai Sculpture Space) are built on restored downtown industrial sites.

Four prominent case studies representing art factories were selected for the spatial study, with a consideration on their locations, industrial contexts, public spaces and activities, urban surroundings, and business mixes. Their physical forms, spatial activities and place images were described and examined on the basis of fieldwork and observations. As the development of art factories is still a relatively new phenomenon in Shanghai, only a few were matured enough to be selected as case studies. Besides, many art factories are still undergoing rapid transformations, with frequent changes in tenancies, spatial boundaries as well as their functions. Shanghai's planning policies towards creative and art districts are similarly evolving ceaselessly. Despite these conditions, the chosen case studies (although are discussed specifically) can still serve as an accurate reflection of the general scope in the field of spatial regeneration at present.

The study focuses on the tangible dimensions and impact of the art-factory movement and aspires to lay the grounds for debates over future urban planning directions. Furthermore, the study fleshes out and considers how social, cultural and economic conditions (which are intangible but have profound implications) affects art factory developments. It is thus proposed that a transdisciplinary approach, which is beyond the scope of the study, be included for future research.

The study also makes apparent the transformation in Shanghai's urban planning and regeneration strategies with regards to art factories. It is necessary that a specific and comprehensive policy study be conducted in the future to explore Shanghai's evolutionary planning agenda so as to properly develop post-industrial districts. From the social economic perspective, further in-depth discussion of market dynamics and large-scale investigation of neighborhoods and communities affected by art factories should be included in subsequent studies, to further grasp implications of urban regeneration in the long term at the city level. Furthermore, as art districts become more open and attractive to the public, a systematic field research method concerning the human behavior aspect may be necessary for future research of the public spaces in post-industrial cultural and art districts.

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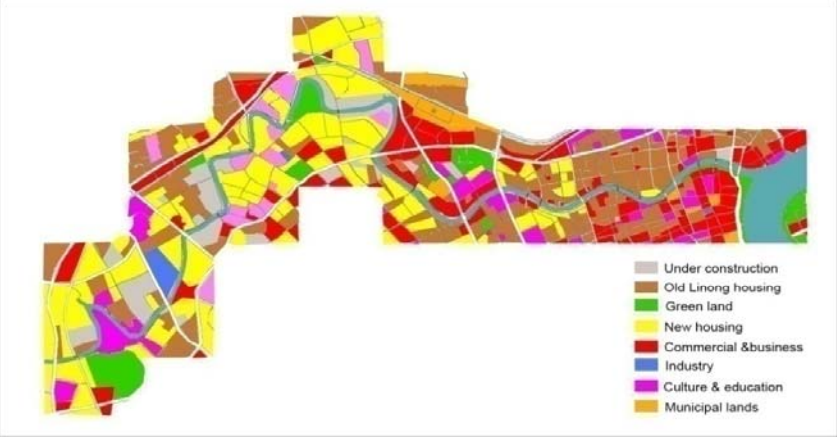
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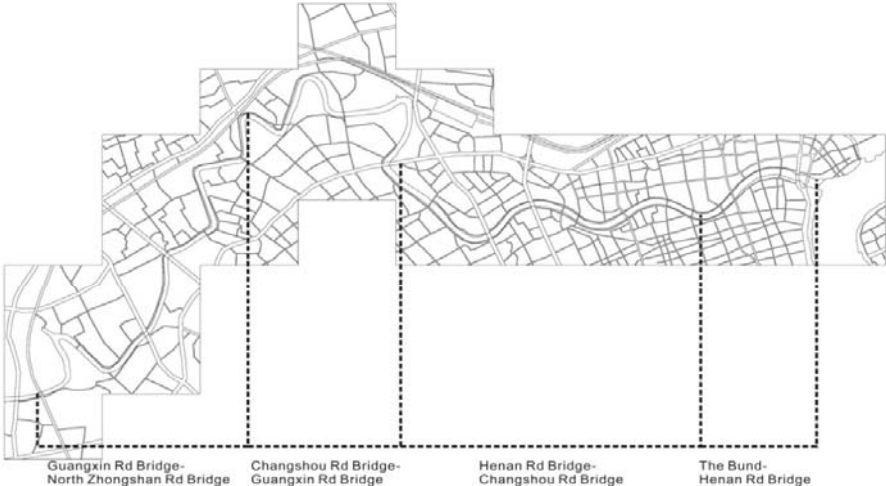

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APPENDICES

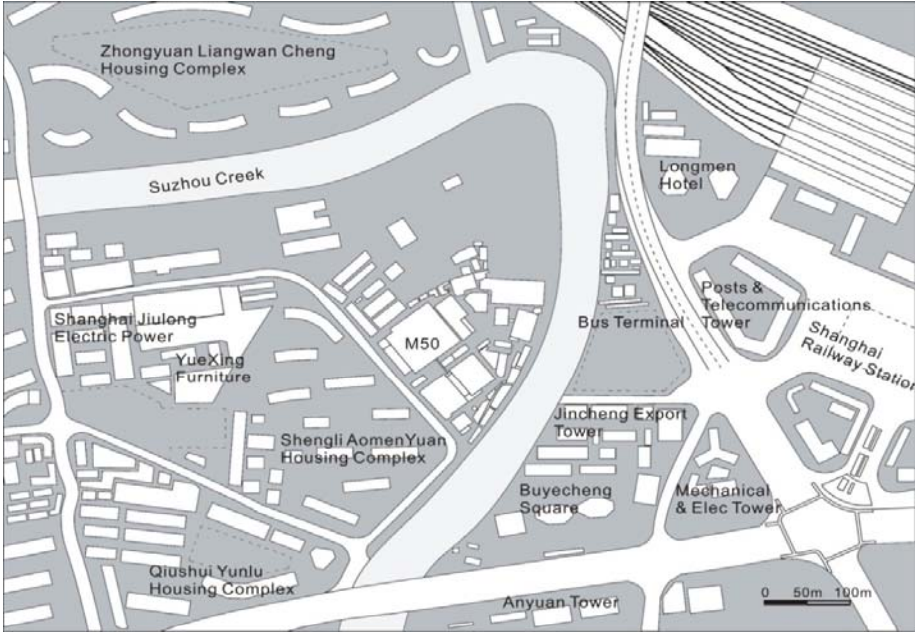
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|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Background: M50 |  |
| Art District Name | Chunming Art Industrial Park (M50 Creative Garden) |
| Established Year | April 2005 |
| Site Location | 50 Moganshan Road, Putuo District, Shanghai |
| Former Industry | Chunming Spinning Factory (Xinhe Spinning Mill) |
| Built Year | Initiated from 1927, the latest industrial construction was completed in 1997 |
| No. of Buildings | 22 |
| Occupied Area | 23,645 square meters |
| Building Area | 41,000 square meters |
| Adaptively Reuse Initiated from | Around 2000 |
| Upgrading Project(s) | 2005 |
| Predominant Art Industry/ Business | galleries, fashion and design outlets, fine arts, sculpture, performing arts, personal studios, etc. |
| No. of Tenants/ Enterprises | over 100 |
| Description | <p>M50 is one of the earliest and most famous art districts in Shanghai built on the post-industrial quarter—Moganshan block. It was renovated from the previous Xinhe Spinning Mill, a Zhou family enterprise and a representative factory of the Anhui merchants in the 1940s. After 1949 Xinhe Cotton Mill was changed in sequence into Shanghai No.12 Woolen Mill and Shanghai Chunming Spinning Factory. It was gradually occupied by artists from the 1990s, and was renamed Shanghai Chunming Metropolitan Industrial Park in 2002 and then Chunming Art Industrial Park in 2004. Today its Bauhaus-style warehouses, workshops, office buildings, dormitories, and other industrial constructions have been restored into artist studios and galleries. Different from other art factories, M50 focuses more on fine arts than leisure and commercial facilities, such like bars and restaurants. Now the whole industrial site will be re-planned and the art factory will become an important part of the waterfront cultural leisure districts.</p> |

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| <p>2. Social Urban Change</p> | <p>Since the economic and social reforms in 1978, Shanghai has benefited a lot from the fast-developing economy of Yangtze Delta. The cityscape has changed at an accelerating pace and Shanghai has developed into an international metropolis. Started from the 1980s, Shanghai's population grew fast and migrants aggregated into slums, and dilapidated housing blocks were blighting the downtown. Its large-scale urban regeneration began from the 1990s, when Shanghai government speeded up the infrastructure rebuilding in downtown and solved many problems like the traffic jam, seasonal inundation, water shortage, etc. In the past decade many streets have been widened, and public transportation system, mass housing and commercial centers have taken the place of old housing blocks. The government has also restructured the industry, encouraged the development of tertiary industry and gradually relocated the declined manufacturing to suburbs.</p> |
| <p>Figure: The land use pattern of Suzhou Creek downtown, Shanghai 2006</p> |  |
| <p>Implications of the social urban change</p> | <p>M50 locates in Shanghai's downtown area, where countless new high-rise buildings and office buildings have been erected and the urban fabrics and land use pattern have transformed a lot. During a long period, the surrounding environment of post-industrial districts have been changed, and urban infrastructure has been improved, but the post-industrial districts remained in a depressing landscape. As a result, there were once debates over the issue of the post-industrial preservation.</p> <p>Influenced by the market economy, the renewed urban surroundings, the government's new urban redevelopment strategies and the flourished art market, M50 has soon developed into a famous art district.</p> |

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| <p>3. Industrial Context Figure: The four segments of West-Shanghai Industrial Quarter, divided by bridges on Suzhou Creek.</p> |  |
| <p>West-Shanghai Industrial Quarter</p> | <p>Shanghai's modern industry initiated from its east and west wings of the city along Huangpu River and Suzhou Creek. In the mid 20th century, two major industrial quarters formed in the downtown, namely the West-Shanghai Industrial Quarter and East-Shanghai Industrial Quarter. Depended on the convenient waterway transportation of Suzhou Creek, Moganshan Block was once an important part of the West-Shanghai Industrial Quarter, in which the most common types of manufacturing were cotton, commodity and flour manufacturing.</p> |
| <p>Figure: (Left) Map of the old factories near Moganshan Road. (source: <i>National Research Center of Historic Cities and Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute, 2004</i>)</p> |  |
| <p>Images and industrial feature of the site</p> | <p>Moganshan block is a typical and representative post-industrial site. In the 1990s, it was still in a depressing landscape, with a dozen of factories that dated back to the 1930s clustered in the peninsula-shaped block. For example, Fuxin Flour Mill, Xinhe Spinning Mill, Fufeng Flour Mill, Xinfu Printing and Dyeing Mill, etc. Before becoming M50, Xinhe Spinning Mill had a typical feature of the old 1930's factories: there remained those massive brick walls, concrete industrial buildings, pipes, spacious but dilapidated workshops, chimney, and steel bridges that used to link the adjacent workshops.</p> |

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| <p>4. Site Location Figure: Location of M50 in Shanghai downtown map</p> |  |
| <p>Location and infrastructure</p> | <p>Moganshan Block is on a sharp turn of Suzhou Creek, located in Putuo District on the northeastern part of Shanghai. From the 1990s on, the urban infrastructure of the district developed rapidly, and convenient transportation began to connect the post-industrial district with other parts of the city. Nowadays, near Moganshan Block to the southeast, Chengdu Viaduct passes across the river, joining North Zhongshan Viaduct and becoming part of the urban highway network. Two subway transit lines also join on the nearby Shanghai Railway Station. Benefited from the locations, Moganshan Road district has experienced a huge transformation of cityscapes and skylines.</p> |
| <p>Figure: (Left) View from M50 to its neighborhood housing (Right) 3D map of M50 and Moganshan Block (Source: http://sh.edushi.com/)</p> |  |
| <p>Neighborhoods</p> | <p>In the past, notorious slums and countless Linong housing were located near Moganshan block. Due to the poor living conditions as well as the environmental deterioration, riverfront Moganshan block was once the “lower quarters” (“Xia Zhi Jiao”, poor area) of Shanghai. But soon modernization rebuilt the surroundings of Moganshan block and a number of high-rise housing blocks were erected on the surrounding sites of the post-industrial factories. With advantages like the convenient transportation system, proximity to railway station, and other improved living facilities, the land price raised rapidly in the late 1990s. Nowadays the old alley compounds have been mostly dismantled, and as a result, M50 is surrounded by new gated apartments. The creek also isolates Moganshan block (the west riverbank) geographically from its east riverbank, where a central business district locates.</p> |

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| Moganshan Road | <p>Beside the post-industrial sites, there are some roadside dilapidated residential buildings and a new high-rise housing complex on Moganshan Road. The street is short and quiet, many cars pull over the curb, and business and markets seems to abandon the street. It is an ideal peaceful, undisturbed place for an art district. Comparing to other factories in Moganshan Block, M50 has the advantage of the high accessibility, the historical significance, the riverside view, and the industrial buildings in structurally sound conditions. These factors have made M50 easy to be explored and accepted by artists for artistic uses. It has therefore become the earliest spontaneously developed art factory in Shanghai.</p> |
| Figure: The urban surroundings of M50 |  |
| Implications of the site location | <p>The public space and new art-related activities in M50 are highly dependent on the street condition and its peripheral environment. The only way lead to M50 is Moganshan Road, which is narrow, curved, and has very few roadside retails. Therefore M50 is hidden in the small quiet street from the outside world. Its neighborhoods are also simple. As a result, M50 has not established the diversified and vibrant public spaces which involve the participation of neighborhoods. Comparing to other art districts located similarly in business center, M50 is close to but isolated from nearby office buildings and business districts, and as a result has barely enough commercial outlets and leisure consumptions. Art creation has overcome consumptions here in M50.</p> |

5. Environment

Figure: Suzhou Creek
(between Zhapu Road
Bridge and Sichuan
Road Bridge) in the
early 20th century.
(Source: Shanghai
Urban Planning
Exhibition Center,
2008)



Suzhou Creek
Rehabilitation Project
and planning schemes

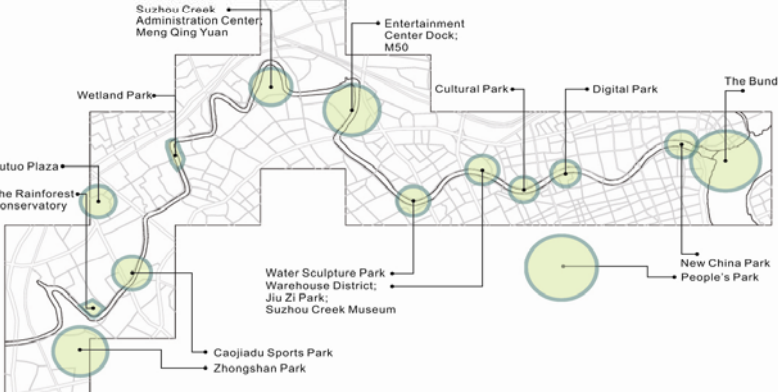


Early since the 1930s as Shanghai was becoming an important trade port of the Yangtze Delta, Suzhou Creek waterfront area became a gathering place of the small factories and warehouses. At the time, the navigable creek divided Shanghai downtown into the northern and southern parts, provided convenient transportation and was once the busiest waterway at the center of the city. However, it was polluted by the waste water from riverside factories. Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation Project began in 1998. As an important step to change Shanghai into an environment-friendly international metropolis, Shanghai municipal government carried out the project with the help of Asian Development Bank. In the following years, the water quality has been improved, and the cleaner environment has pushed the revitalization of the post-industrialized downtown. At the end of 2005 Phase II of the project was finished, in which Moganshan block was planned to be part of the large-scale waterfront green park. The riverfront green space now takes up 12.5 ha area and serves as cultural leisure spaces for the citizens, including Meng Qing Yuan and M50.

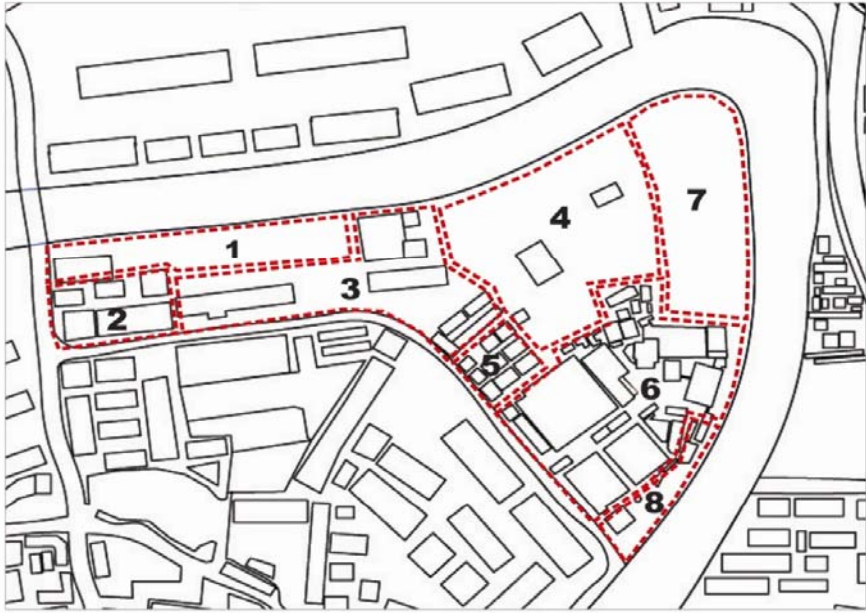

Figure: The congested
north bank of Suzhou
Creek in the early 20th
Century. (Source:
ZHENG, Z.A., 2006. *A
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Creek Shanghai*. p.91)

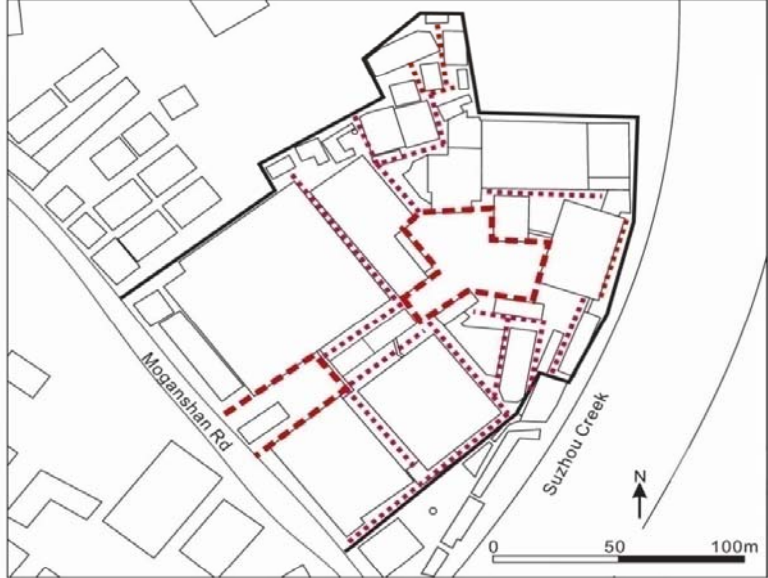






Figure: Suzhou Creek is
clean enough after the
rehabilitation project.
(Source: Shanghai
Archives Bureau, 2006,
p.267)




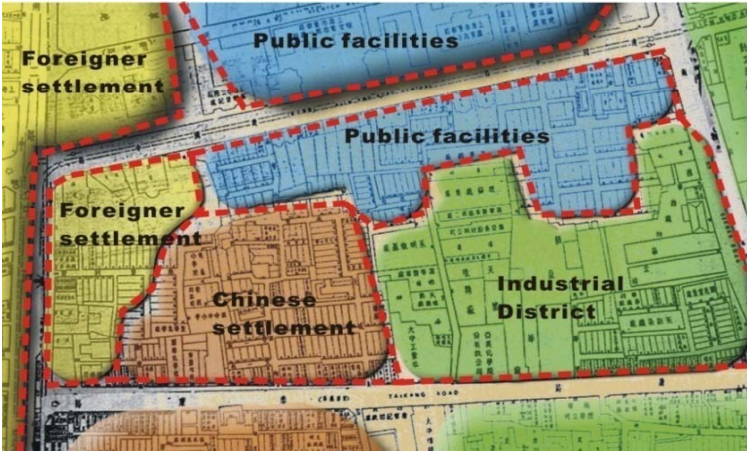
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| <p>Response to the environmental changes</p> | <p>Comparing to other downtown industrial sites that were finally demolished, the precious industrial buildings of Moganshan Block were preserved ironically because of the polluted environment of Suzhou Creek. As the surrounding environment was improved, the spinning factory was soon discovered and occupied by artists, attracting potential tourists and consumers to the art district. However, the clean environment has lead to the escalating land price, and consequently has driven out some artists who cannot afford the rising rents of their studios.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Suzhou Creek Waterfront Green Space System, planned by Shanghai Urban Planning Bureau. (Source: based on maps from National Research Center of Historic Cities and Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute, 2004)</p> |  <p>The map illustrates the Suzhou Creek Waterfront Green Space System. Key locations marked include: Suzhou Creek Administration Center; Meng Qing Yuan; Entertainment Center Dock; M50; Cultural Park; Digital Park; The Bund; New China Park; People's Park; Caojiadu Sports Park; Zhongshan Park; Water Sculpture Park; Warehouse District; Jiu Zi Park; Suzhou Creek Museum; Putuo Plaza; The Rainforest Conservatory; and Wetland Park. The system is depicted as a series of green spaces connected along the path of Suzhou Creek.</p> |
| <p>The green landscape</p> | <p>Moganshan Road is not covered by trees. In summer days, the squares in M50 and the street become very hot. As a result, a few of cafés and stores in M50 provide awnings for people to sit and chat in the yard. In the future planning scheme of Moganshan Block, there will be trees planted along the riverfront area, and form a natural green park.</p> |
| <p>Figure: (Left) Street view of Moganshan Road (Right) Entrance of M50</p> |  <p>The left photograph shows a street view of Moganshan Road, featuring traditional multi-story buildings with balconies and laundry hanging out. The right photograph shows the entrance of M50, a modern building with a large glass facade and a red flag flying in front.</p> |
| <p>Figure: The planned riverfront green space. (Source: National Research Center of Historic Cities and Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute, 2004)</p> |  <p>The 3D architectural rendering shows a proposed riverfront green space along Suzhou Creek. It features a mix of modern buildings, green spaces, and a blue river. The design includes a large green area with trees and a blue river flowing through the center.</p> |


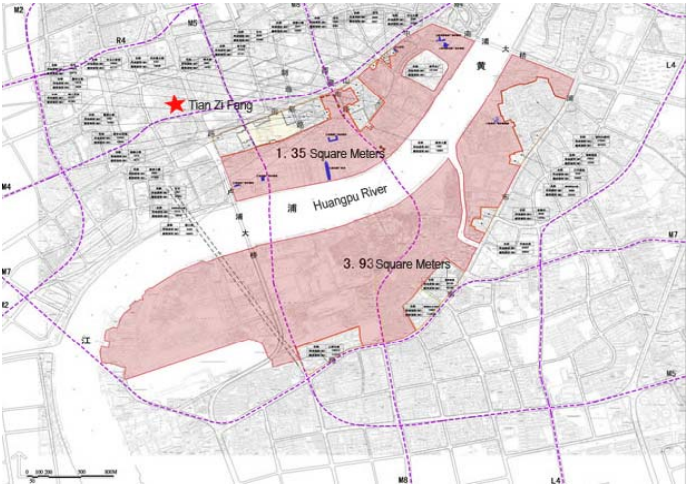
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| <p>6. Land Subdivision & Ownership</p> <p>Figure: Land subdivision map of the Moganshan Block (Source: based on maps from National Research Center of Historic Cities and Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute, 2004)</p> |  |
| <p>Land subdivision of Moganshan Block</p> | <p>The river and streets separate Moganshan block from its surrounding urban blocks, and the whole post-industrial block is divided by several factories and different landowners. As a result, in the recent site renewal since the late 1990s, Moganshan block did not develop as a whole. Some parts developed and some other parts remained the same in the depressing post-industrial landscape. No. 50 Moganshan Road, namely M50, has keep intact and been developed into an art district, while some other buildings are either changed into slums or still disused. Some historical buildings have even been demolished.</p> |
| <p>Historical Land Ownership (Indicated by numbers in the above map)</p> | <p>1: Stack Area 2: Yinfeng Wooden Printing and Dyeing Mill 3: Fuxin Flour Mill 4: Zhaofeng Flour Mill 5: Worker's Dormitory of Zhaofeng Flour Mill 6: Chunming Spinning Factory 7: Blank 8: Xinyi Machine Factory</p> |
| <p>Figure: (Left) Bird's view of Moganshan Block (Right) Worker's Dormitory of Zhaofeng Flour Mill</p> |  |

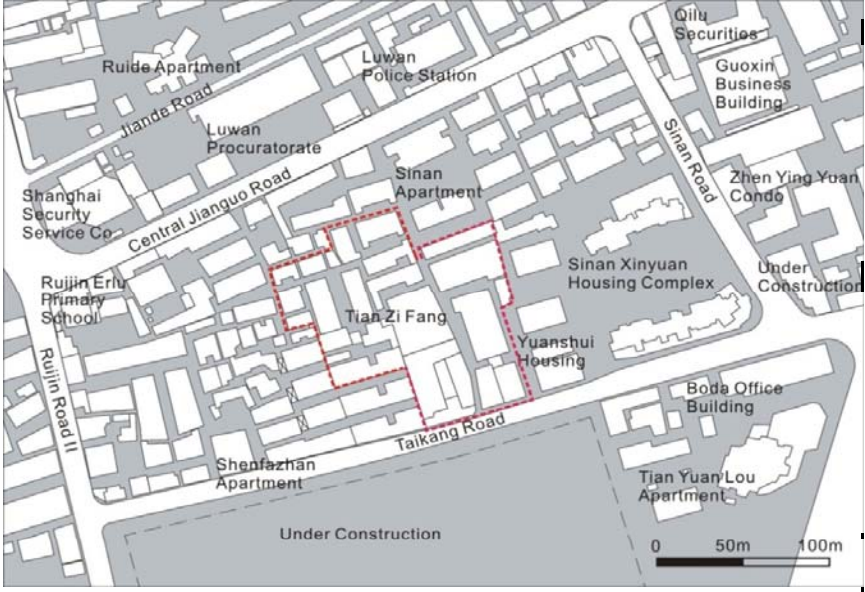


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| <p>7. Built Environment</p> | <p>The industrial buildings and spatial layout of M50 are mostly preserved in their original appearance. There are two open space in M50 used for leisure, communication and temporary parking: the entrance square and the inner square. Many narrow alleys connect the buildings and open public spaces; some even go through the building interiors. The industrial buildings were built in consequence in different years, and there are many piecemeal added buildings or constructions, as a result, it becomes a high-density factory.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Spatial configuration: lanes and squares</p> |  |
| <p>Building conditions and layout</p> | <p>M50 is a high-density and low-rise factory. Most of the buildings here are below six stories and preserved in a structurally sound condition. There are many steel bridges on the second level that connect adjacent buildings and workshops. The entire art factory is semi-enclosed as it is isolated from the outside street and neighborhoods by walls, except for the only gate and a small entrance from Moganshan Road.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Building height map (Source: based on maps from National Research Center of Historic Cities and Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute, 2004)</p> |  |

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| <p>8. Upgrading Project and Site Planning</p> <p>Figure: (Left) Entrance (Right) Renovated building façades</p> |  |
| <p>Upgrading project</p> | <p>In 2005, Chunming Factory held an architectural design competition for a high-quality updating and planning concept of M50. The updating project has refurbished the building façades and interiors but largely kept the original feature of the factory. It has not change much on the site layout and pattern, but has added many decorations to the buildings, like the fountain at the entrance and the large glass walls of the entrance café. Infrastructures have also been improved or rebuilt such as the road pavement and parking spaces.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Preservation plan for Moganshan Block (Source: National Research Center of Historic Cities and Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute, 2004)</p> |  |
| <p>Figure: Concept plan of Moganshan Block (Source: National Research Center of Historic Cities and Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute, 2004)</p> |  |
| <p>Site planning</p> | <p>The final concept plan for preservation and reuse of historical industrial site on Moganshan block was made by Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute. Although the plan has not been implemented yet, it shows the intention to redevelop Moganshan Block into a public cultural and leisure park. In the master plan of the post-industrial site, some industrial buildings are re-valued with a suggestion on whether to preserve or demolish them. In addition, a green urban park and riverfront docks are planned close to M50, trying to combine the cultural facilities and events with natural landscapes of Moganshan block and developing a multi-purpose tourist destination. In the concept plan, there will be three major quarters: a monumental industrial base, a waterfront urban green space and a modern art district (M50).</p> |

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| 1. Background: Tian Zi Fang |  |
| Art District Name | Tian Zi Fang |
| Established Year | Named in 1999, open to art business from May 2000 |
| Site Location | 210 Nong, Taikang Road, Luwan District, Shanghai |
| Former Industry | "Linong Factories" (Neighborhood Factories) |
| Built Year | from the 1920s |
| No. of Buildings | more than 20 |
| Occupied Area | around 15,000 square meters (major area developed around 210 Nong) |
| Building Area | more than 20,000 square meters |
| Adaptively Reuse Initiated from | 1998 |
| Upgrading Project(s) | from 2000 |
| Predominant Art Industry/ Business | Galleries, designing studios, ateliers, shops/handicrafts, restaurants/café, bars/clubs, visual arts, industrial arts, retails, etc. |
| No. of Tenants/Enterprises | over 160 |
| Description | <p>Tian Zi Fang (田子坊) is named after its homophone "Tian Zifang (田子方)", the name of a Chinese ancient painter. The art factory was primarily located in the 210th alley (210 Nong) of Taikang Road, a 420-meter-long street that used to be characterized by art and handicrafts. In the late 1990s, the industrial buildings in 210 Nong began to be reused by famous artists (such as Chen Yifei) as their ateliers. Then the art district extended from a single alley to a group of alley compounds. It occupies today a large part of Taikang Road block, which is made up by several Linong Factories and the Shikumen Linong housings built from the 1920s. Tianzifang is now an international art district that covers a diverse group of galleries, handicrafts, fashions and other art-related leisure developments, and mixed with Linong residential buildings. Today "Taikang Road Historical Conservation District" has become a famous creative cluster authorized by Luwan District Government. Different from other art factories, it's not a lease project, but is planned to be preserved as valuable heritage district and passed on to the next generation.</p> |

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| <p>2. Social/Urban Change</p> | <p>Taikang Road was a part of the French Concession's industrial zones in Shanghai during the 1930s. With a spatial proximity to the north bank of Huangpu River (where a lot of large-scale factories concentrated), Taikang road block became a gathering place of small Linong factories. In the mid 20th century there were once about twenty neighborhood factories located the block. Although it was part of the French Concession, the block was mixed with the Chinese settlement, markets, commercial districts and factories and thus formed a diverse spatial pattern. In the 1940s, Taikang Road was already a gathering place of artists, such like the renowned painter Wang Yachen.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Historical community of Taikang Road Block in the French Concession, 1947. (Source: Based on the analyzing map by Ruan Y.S. et al., 2004)</p> |  |
| <p>Social reform and reconstruction in the late 20th Century</p> | <p>The economic reform in the 1970s brought in growing populations and changing landscapes to Shanghai. In the 1980s Taikang Road block tuned to be a busy and chaotic street in central downtown, filled by grimy shops and cheap markets. At the end of the 1990s, Taikang Road became an old street market of handicrafts, sculptures and antiques. With a building boom in the 1990s, many aged Linong wards were demolished and replaced by newly built high-rise housings. The government's de-industrialization strategy also made many factories in Taikang Road to stop production. The adaptively reuse of old industrial buildings began from 1998 when a famous artist Chen Yifei moved his studio to 210 Nong of Taikang Road Block. Following him, the small alley saw a continuous influx of art studios into the Linong factories. In 1999 the artistic alley was renamed "Tian Zi Fang".</p> |

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| <p>3. Site Location Figure: Location of Tian Zi Fang in Shanghai downtown map</p> |  |
| <p>Taikang Road block: the significance of location</p> | <p>Taikang Road Historical Conservation District (Taikang Road block) is located in the middle of Luwan District, a central downtown area called “Dapuqiao”. Tian Zi Fang (210 Nong of Taikang Road) is at the middle of the block. This area belongs to Shanghai’s historical featured commercial and cultural downtown since the last century. It is close to the famous Huaihai Road commercial street in the north and the Hengshan Road shopping district in the west. Less than one thousand meters away in the east locates the Yuyuan Garden business district. Furthermore, the Shanghai 2010 Expo site on the north bank of Huangpu River is just two blocks away from Taikang Road Block. The accessibility of central downtown plays an important role in the redevelopment of Taikang Road district. To distinguish itself from the nearby high-level commercial district like Huaihai Road, Taikang Road has to be developed into a grassroots art-cultural and commercial center.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Tian Zi Fang, which is close to the 2010 Expo Site. (Source: Based on the Map of Shanghai 2010 Expo Site, Shanghai Urban Planning Bureau. http://www.expo2010china.com/expo/shexpo/zlzx/sbdt/userobject1ai10794.html)</p> |  |

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| <p>Figure: The urban surroundings of Tian Zi Fang</p> |  |
| <p>Neighborhoods</p> | <p>Taikang Road Block has a complex social and spatial nature by its history. It has combined diversified culture and rich types of buildings in the French Concession, including the Chinese settlements, commercial blocks and industrial districts. There remain those luxury private garden houses, old and new style Linong residential buildings, Linong factories, and public facilities in the block today. At present, the east Taikang Road Block is already occupied by modern new developments such as apartments and high-rise office buildings. In recent years, the new constructions are stopped, and it is voiced that the valuable Linong residential areas in its west wing needs to be preserved as part of the historical district.</p> |
| <p>Figure: (Up) Types of housing and industrial buildings in Taikang Road block. (Down): Tian Zi Fang and the newly-built high-rise buildings nearby. (Source: Ruan Y.S. et al., 2004)</p> | <div data-bbox="500 1249 933 1543">  </div> <div data-bbox="966 1249 1339 1543"> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Garden Private Housing 2. New Styled Linong Housing (High-class) 3. Garden Linong 4. New Styled Linong Housing (Normal) 5. Traditional Linong Factory 6. Modern Linong Factory 7. New Styled Linong Housing (Simple) </div> <div data-bbox="479 1543 1339 1873">  </div> |


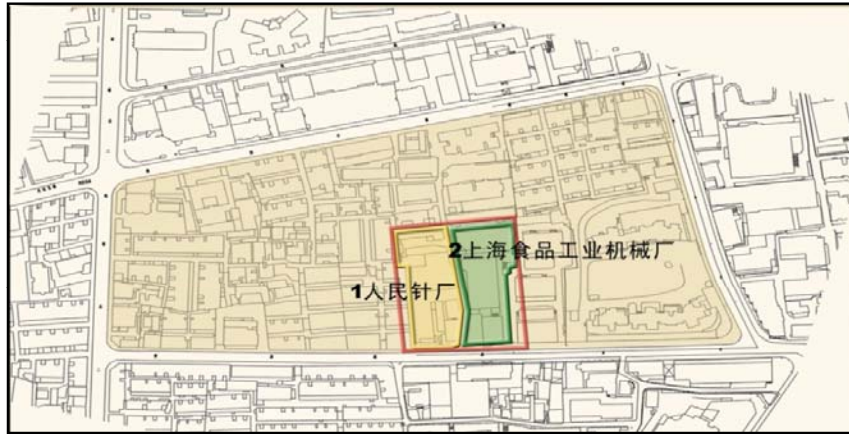
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| <p>4. Industrial Context Map of the Linong factories in 1947. (Source: Ruan Y.S. et al., 2004)</p> |  |
| <p>Stage 1: “Linong factories” in the 1940s</p> | <p>The geographic location and the convenient transportation were important factors in facilitating the industrial development of Taikang Road Block, especially in the 1940s. According to the map in 1947, 18 factories were already located in the block, covering a diverse group of industries like textile printing, food industry and chemical industry. These factories mainly spread in the middle and southeast of Taikang Road block, mixed with residential districts. The middle part of the block, namely 210 Nong, was the place where Tian Zifang art district firstly shaped. Generally, the factories in the 1940s had relatively smaller scales in comparison to its later stage.</p> |
| <p>List of factories in Stage 1</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Jiuhua Silk Factory 2. Kangfu Textile Mill 3. Hefeng Millinery Factory 4. Huachang Machine Works 5. Far East Bread & Biscuit Plant 6. Far East Bread Co. 7. Yongming Bottle Cap Factory 8. Haihua Factory 9. Jianchen Cosmetics Co. 10. Gonghe Hosiery Factory 11. Donghua Chemical Factory 12. Youyi Pen Factory 13. Tianran Monosodium Glutamate Factory 14. Yamei Chemical Co. 15. Jingyi Factory 16. Changxing Textile & Printing Co. 17. Guoguang Factory 18. Yongxin Textile & Printing Factory |
| <p>Stage 2: New Linong factories before the late 1990s</p> | <p>The degeneration and migration of downtown industry reshaped the industrial site of Taikang Road Block. Before reused by artists and became “Tian Zi Fang” in 1999, there were only two factories (except for some very tiny Linong factories such as Shanghai Cup Factory) left in 210 Nong: People's Needle Factory and Shanghai Machine Works of Food Industry. They were evolved from several previous small factories. Factories of this period were often in a large scale and independent from their neighborhoods. Some of the industrial buildings even looked the same with an office building. As a result, the subsequent artists did not change much on the building structure and façades.</p> |

Figure: Map of the new Linong factories in the late 1990s (before Tian Zi Fang art district).
(Source: Ruan Y.S. et al., 2004)



1. People's Needle Factory 2. Shanghai Machine Works of Food Industry

Figure: The previous building of Shanghai Machine Works of Food Industry, now filled with art studios and galleries.

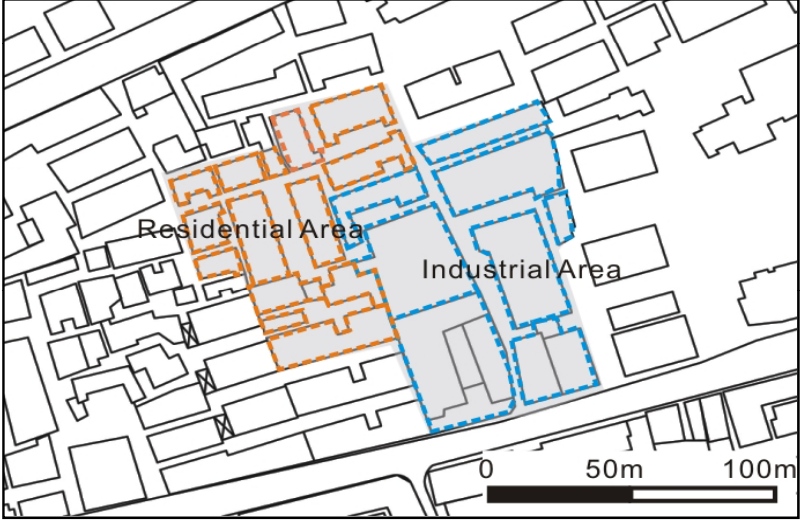





Figure: Building No.9, 210 Nong: the previous Jiu Hua Silk Factory, built in 1936.


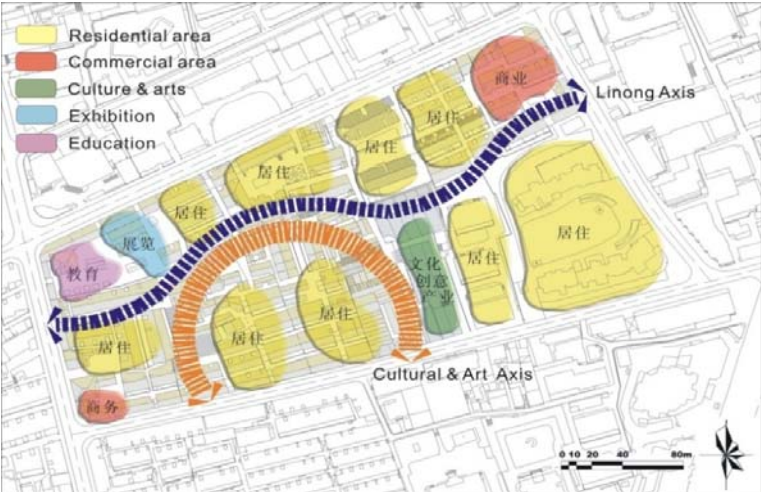


Figure: Building No.7, 210 Nong: the previous Shanghai Cup Factory, one of the typical small Linong factories.



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| <p>5. Land Subdivision & Ownership</p> <p>Figure: Land use map of Tian Zi Fang in the late 1990s (before Tian Zi Fang art district)</p> |  |
| <p>Mixed land use pattern</p> | <p>Taikang Road Block has diversified land uses such as residential, commercial and manufacturing sites, which show different site patterns. The industrial area (including People's Needle Factory and Shanghai Machine Works of Food Industry) is comprised of several large buildings on the east side of the block, and the neighborhood area is comprised of relatively smaller residential buildings on the west side. Moreover, there are many small shops distributed on Taikang Road, some of which transformed into artistic shops and becomes part of the art community.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Alleys that were separated by gates and lanes</p> |  |
| <p>Land subdivision in a Linong community</p> | <p>In such a high-density Linong community like Tian Zi Fang, alleys or lanes are the most common ways to subdivide industrial and residential areas. Basically, buildings define the boundary of different zones, and lanes act as the public spaces between these zones. In some lanes, the walls, gates (some with guards) and fences are used to create enclosed semi-public spaces that are used by a certain property owners or a group of neighborhood families.</p> |

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| <p>6. Built Environment</p> | <p>There is a spatial hierarchy in the classification of Linong lanes, which comprise the main public space of Tian Zi Fang art district. There are public, semi-public and semi-private lanes of rich spatial forms. For example, a major lane serves mainly as a passageway through the whole site, while some narrow sub-branches are used both for passing through and staying. There are also some small yards connected by the branch lanes. While this has been a typical and traditional spatial pattern for Linong residential areas for many years, it was still influenced by the industrial spaces. Some of these Linong factories have irregular open spaces between buildings, and this has further enriched the spatial forms of the site. Generally, the west side of 210 Nong is covered by low-rise sloping-roof buildings, and on the east side a large majority are those multi-storey, flat-roof buildings.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Spatial hierarchy of lanes (alleys)</p> |  |
| <p>Figure: Building heights. (Source: Ruan Y.S. et al., 2004)</p> |  |
| <p>Various architectural styles and features</p> | <p>The residential and industrial buildings in Taikang Road block combine both the eastern and western architectural styles. The architectural diversity is reflected both by colonial settlements of the French Concession and the various types of local Shanghai-style settlements. There are Qing Dynasty residential houses, garden houses, Shikumen Linong housings, New-style Linongs, and modern residential buildings. Most industrial buildings built from the 1920s have similar appearances with the Linong housing, but the 1970's factories are different: they are modern multi-storey buildings occupying a large area. Overall, Tian Zi Fang's spatial diversity is created not only by various architectural types, but also by the diversified lanes and yard spaces, decorations, materials, landscapes and different degrees of spatial enclosure.</p> |

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| <p>7. Ways of Regeneration</p> | <p>Taikang Road was just a street market of Dapujiao area before 1998. On September 1998, Luwan District Government restored the street, paved the road, built indoor bazaar instead of the outdoor market, and improved the environment. The vacant Linong factories were encouraged to be released for art and commercial uses. At the beginning of 1999, Luwan District Government and the street council planned to develop Taikang Road into a handicraft-characterized historical street. As the factories were gradually occupied by artists, in April 2005 Tian Zi Fang was authorized by Shanghai Creative Industry Center as one of the earliest creative districts in Shanghai.</p> |
| <p>Figure: (Left) The restored Taikang Road. (Right): A new indoor bazaar was built instead of the outdoor street market.</p> |  |
| <p>Spontaneous redevelopment</p> | <p>Tian Zi Fang was not a government-sponsored project. Its impetus of development was provided by the bottom-up adaptively reuse. The government was not the leading force of this transformation, but through improving the environment, investigating the site, conceiving new master plans, they successfully paved the way for the spontaneous redevelopment. Investors were attracted to the updating projects, and this has made up the shortage of the governmental funds. For a historical urban district like Tian Zi Fang, the spontaneous reuse and redevelopment has evoked a consciousness among residents to protect Linong spaces, because they could get considerable rents by leasing out the restored buildings. Comparing to the “tabula rasa” redevelopment which usually tear down the old historical districts, relocate residents and efface the urban memories, the spontaneous regeneration is better for the long-term outputs of the area.</p> |
| <p>Figure: The land use proposal of Taikang Road block. (Source: Ruan Y.S. et al., 2004)</p> |  |



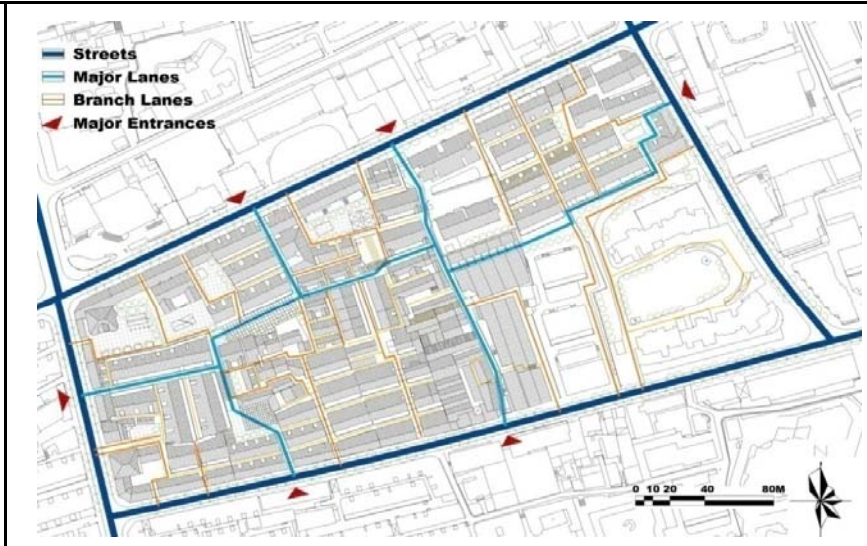


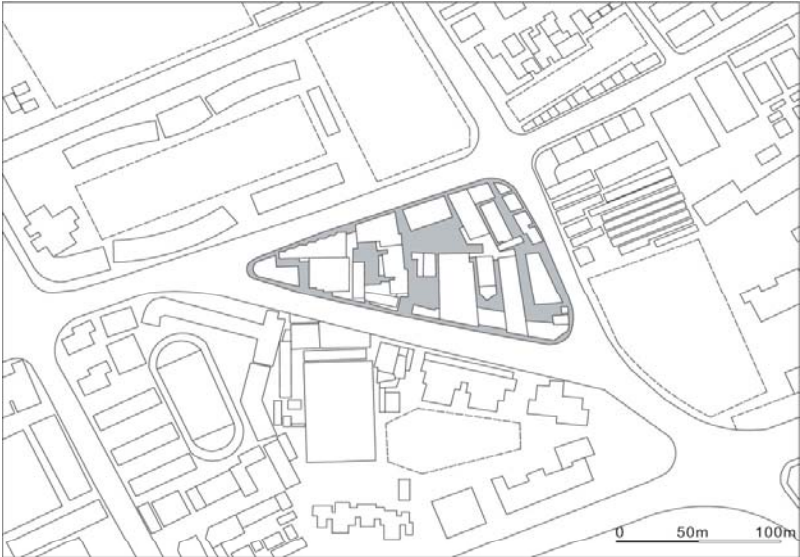

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| <p>8. Upgrading project and site planning The improvement of buildings and lanes</p> | <p>The historical buildings in Tian Zi Fang were not refurbished in a planned scheme, but were transformed step by step. Most industrial and residential buildings were preserved and improved spontaneously by their owners or tenants, while some others were re-designed by architects. Public facilities such as benches and street lamps were also built in the alleys and yards. There was a strict regulation among the land owners: the tenants could repaint the walls, improve doors/windows and decorate the interiors, but could not make any changes on the building structure and its original features.</p> |
| <p>Figure (Left): Repainted buildings at the entrance of 210 Nong. (Right): Alleys with improved infrastructure and public facilities.</p> |  |
| <p>Planning proposal of Taikang Road block</p> | <p>In 2004, Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute and National Research Center of Historic Cities began a preliminary investigation of Taikang Road block for a concept plan on the whole block. The project was started by the government and led by Professor Ruan Yisan of Tongji University. The planning concept was to better combine the residential community, visual art, cultural industries, consumption, and leisure developments, thus turning Taikang Road block into an alley compounds representing both past and modern lifestyles of Shanghai. The new master plan put the art district as the beginning and leading space of the site renewal. According to the plan, it was advised that a large majority of buildings should be preserved in Tian Zi Fang, except for a few dilapidated buildings to be demolished for new open squares. The major lanes, entrances and spatial axis of Tian Zi Fang were also planned.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Buildings to be improved, preserved and demolished in the new concept plan. (Source: Ruan Y.S. et al., 2004)</p> |  |

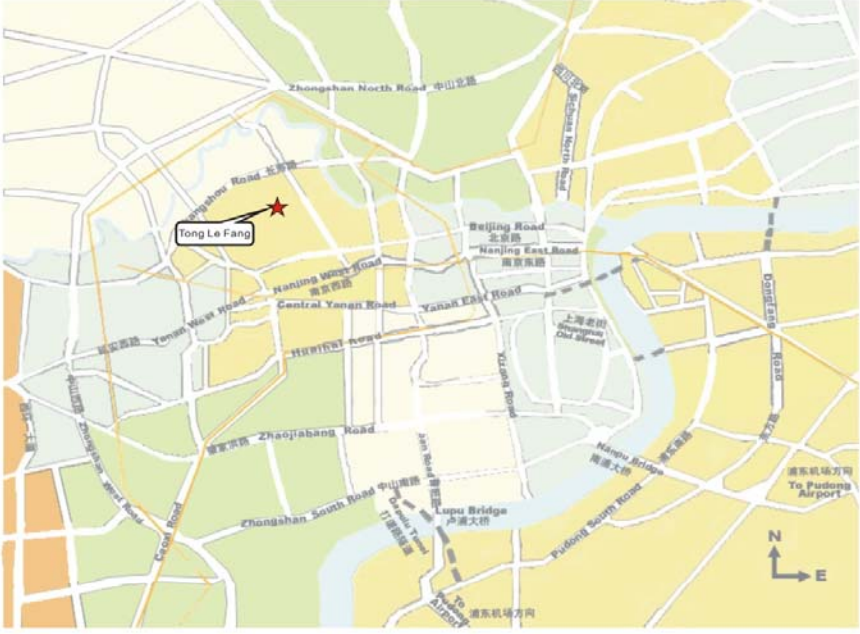
Figure: Planned entrances and major lanes in the block
(Source: Ruan Y.S. et al., 2004)

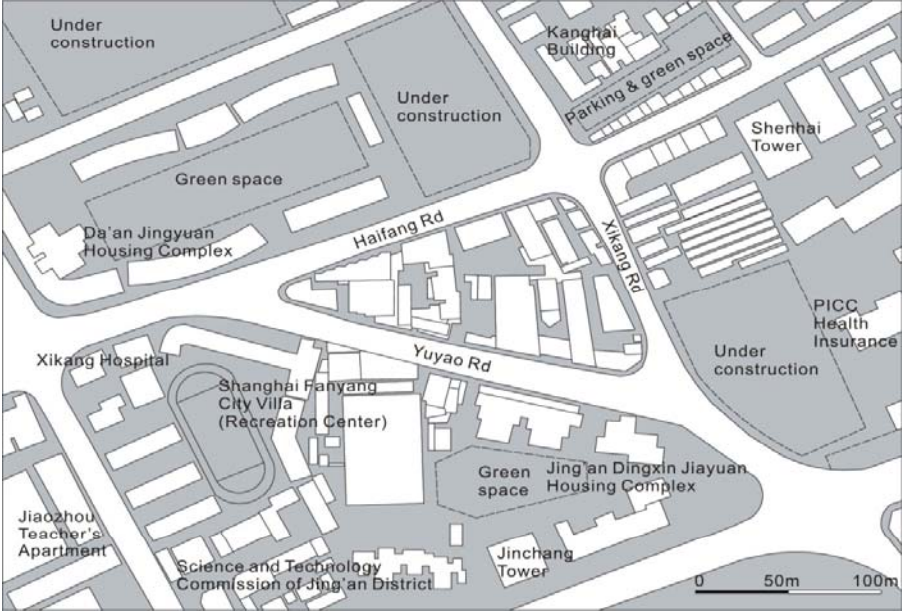



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| <p>9. Neighborhoods involvement Neighborhoods involvement and the shophouses</p> | <p>The artistic shophouses firstly emerged in 210 Nong. A resident in 210 Nong leased his ground-floor house to a fashion designer. It generated considerable rental income for the family and soon his neighborhoods followed him to lease out their own houses to enterprises or individual artists. With the rental return residents (property owners) could afford nearby modern apartments and get a better living condition than in the old Linong housing. In addition, the residents organized spontaneously a committee to participate in the daily affairs of Tian Zi Fang. Its responsibility was to improve public infrastructure and facilities, to make sure that the tenants retain the original feature and structure of the housing, and to maintain a livable environment and friendly community.</p> <p>Today, those adaptively reused residential buildings are made up largely of art-related retails, personal studios, small restaurants and cafés. The galleries and art-related enterprises (who often need larger interior spaces) mostly concentrate in the previous factories. The residential buildings in Tian Zi Fang art district often become shophouses: the original Linong lifestyles are still maintained in those families living upstairs, but the ground-floors are already transformed into artistic shops, studios, and become tourist destinations.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Shophouses--co-existed residential life and art in Tian Zi Fang.</p> |  |
| <p>Art sprawl in “Li (里)”, “Fang (坊)”, “Cun (邨)”</p> | <p>“Li” (里), “Fang” (坊) and “Cun” (邨) are all typical names of Linong neighborhood blocks. “Cun” in Taikang Road Block is largely made up by European-style houses, while “Li” and “Fang” are mostly the mixed Shikumen-style houses. The growth of art industry and vibrant activities in Tian Zi Fang has animated the space, endowed the land with rich cultural values, and consequently promoted its neighborhood areas’ redevelopment, such as in Tian Cheng Li and Zhi Cheng Fang. Began from 210 Nong, the prosperous art district has sprawled, along the lanes in Tian Cheng Fang, to the residential blocks on the west. Rather than an “art factory”, it is now more accurate to call Tian Zi Fang the “Linong compounds that were made up of art factory, art shophouses and residential housing”.</p> |
| <p>Figure: The “Li”, “Fang”, and “Cun” neighborhoods in Taikang Road block. (Source: Ruan Y.S. et al., 2004)</p> |  |

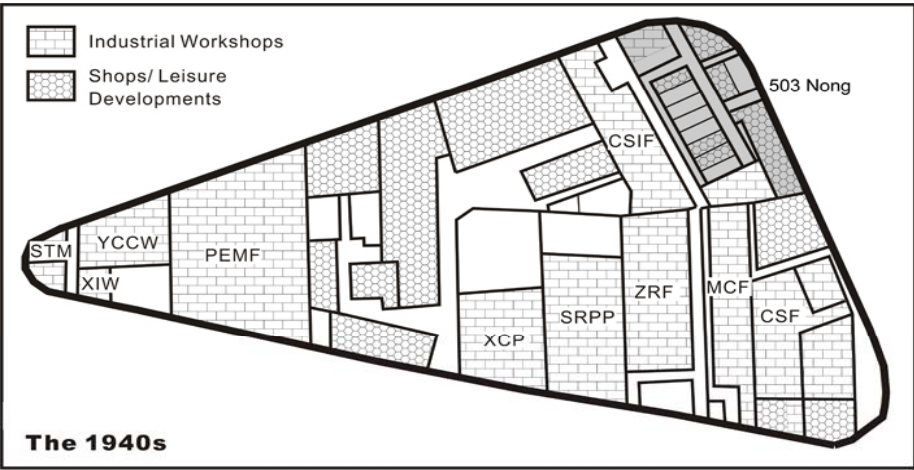
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| 1. Background: Tong Le Fang |  |
| Art District Name | Tong Le Fang (Total Rich Fun) |
| Established Year | December 2005, opened to the public |
| Site Location | 66 Yuyao Road, Jing'an District, Shanghai |
| Former Industry | a dozen of micro "Linong Factories" (Neighborhood Factories) |
| Built Year | From the 1920s |
| No. of Buildings | 22 |
| Occupied Area | 11,300 square meters |
| Building Area | about 22,000 square meters |
| Redevelopment Project(s) | from 2004 to 2005 |
| Predominant Art Industry/ Business | Bars/clubs/pubs, restaurants/café, shops/handicrafts, galleries, designing companies, studios, performance spaces/theaters |
| No. of Tenants/Enterprises | over 80 |
| Description | <p>Tong Le Fang locates on a piece of triangle site in downtown, enclosed by Xikang Road, Haifang Road, and Yuyao Road. Since the 1920s it was the gathering place of many small Shanghai-style "Linong Factories", including steel factories, textile printing plants, candy factories, machine factories, etc. Besides, a primary school, a theater and some Linong residential housings were also located in the block. In the late 1990s, most Linong factories stopped production, thus the block became a slum that was occupied by congested, dilapidated residential housing, cheap restaurants, inns, and even garbage recycling stations. At the end of 2004, Jing'an District Government established Shanghai Tong Le Fang Cultural Development Co. Ltd. and Tong Le Fang Development & Construction Management Committee to carry out the redevelopment plan on a 20 years' lease, and the site will be built into a green park afterwards. The project has adaptively reused the old buildings and successfully established a new modern cultural and leisure district.</p> |


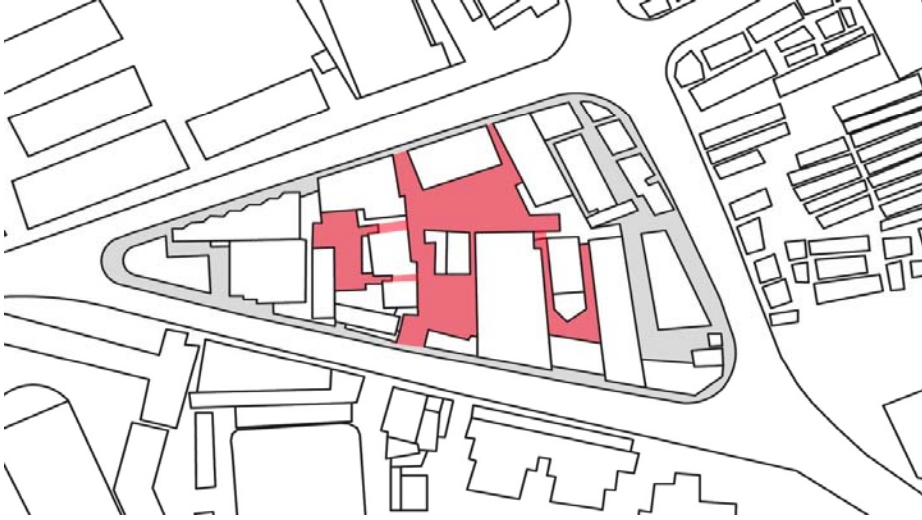
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| <p>2. Social Urban Change Figure: Google satellite map of Tong Le Fang <i>(Source: Google Earth 2008)</i></p> |  |
| <p>Stage 1: Relocation of manufacturing</p> | <p>In the 1990s, benefited from the rapid economic growth of Yangtze Delta, Shanghai was developing into an international metropolis, and the government began to adjust the industrial structure of the city. The former manufacturing sites in downtown were gradually relocated to suburban areas, including Tong Le Fang. Most of the Linong factories on the site stopped production and became obsolete.</p> |
| <p>Stage 2: Slum and the newly built housing</p> | <p>Like many post-industrial sites, Tong Le Fang soon turned to be a gathering place of slums and dilapidated housing blocks in downtown. Meanwhile, the downtown cityscape was changing rapidly with new modern high-rise housing complexes being built. As a typical downtown industrial site mixed with Linong residential areas, Tong Le Fang once became dirty and chaotic, and is comprised of hundreds of families, dilapidated hotels, haircut shops, bathhouses and trash recycling stations. There was widening gaps between the new neighborhoods in high-class housing complexes and the poor Linong residents.</p> |
| <p>Stage 3: Redevelopment of the old downtown area</p> | <p>From the late 1990s Shanghai Municipal Government speeded up the infrastructure rebuilding and cleaned up the downtown environment. The redevelopment measures include the improvement of urban infrastructures and the overcrowded traffic, and more importantly, the environmental improvement of the "dirty, noisy, and disordered" ("Zang, Luan, Cha" in Chinese) areas. At the same time, as the average income of Shanghainese increased, consumption needs were growing and modern service industry developed rapidly. Based on the consumption needs and downtown advantages, a lot of former industrial districts were rejuvenating and gradually service industries developed on the sites.</p> |



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| <p>3. Site Location</p> | <p>Jing'an District was historically divided by Wanhangu Road, Xinzha Road and Jiaozhou Road into two parts: the southern commercial part and the northern industrial part (where Tong Le Fang is located currently). The northern Jing'an also belonged to the famous West-Shanghai Industrial Quarter. In the past decade, the major industry of Northern Jing'an was gradually transforming from manufacturing to the third industry, with its infrastructure largely improved and subways built in the late 1990s. Consequently, a lot of shopping malls, office buildings, and high-class housing were emerging in this area. Tong Le Fang is a unique triangle site situated between Changshou Road business district, West Nanjing Road and Jing'an Temple business district. Its downtown location plays an important role and encouraged the subsequent commercial development and regeneration scheme.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Location of Tong Le Fang in Shanghai downtown map</p> |  |
| <p>Neighborhoods</p> | <p>While some old Linong residential buildings like No.503 Nong Haifang Road, the intimate neighborhood of Tong Le Fang remains the same as in twenty years before, the urban renewal has resulted a high land price in this area. Before Tong Le Fang block was redeveloped, its Linong neighborhood blocks were already replaced by mega-superblocks such as Da'an Jingyuan Housing Complex. Close to these high-class housing complexes and commercial centers, with high accessibility from the three surrounding streets, Tong Le Fang could offer a consumption place to the nearby middle-class residents and white-collars, who are also able and willing to spend money on cultural entertainments and leisure developments. The commercial potentials of Northern Jing'an district further provided impetus for Tong Le Fang Redevelopment Project.</p> |

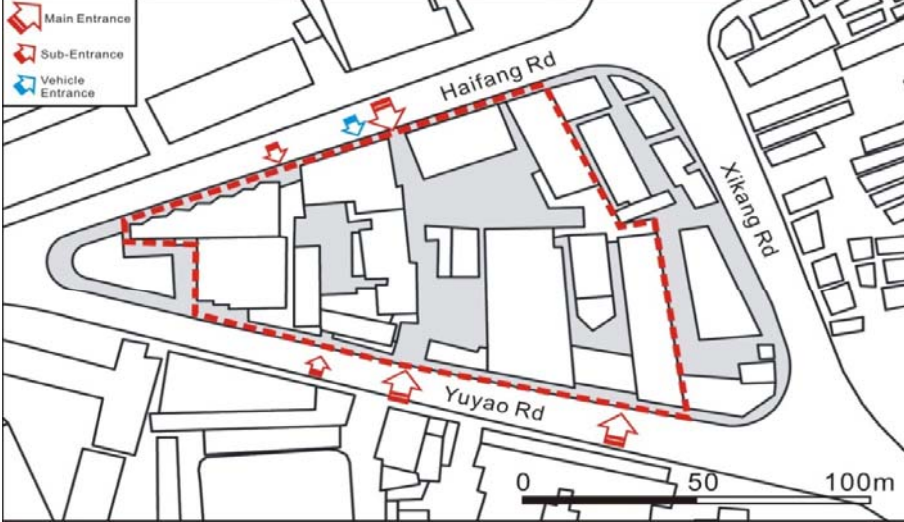

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| <p>Figure: The urban surroundings of Tong Le Fang</p> |  |
| <p>Implications of the location</p> | <p>The geographic location of Tong Le Fang was beneficial to its redevelopment from two aspects. Firstly, the post-industrial transformation could open up a new market to meet the surrounding consumption needs. Secondly, based on a holistic consideration of the urban district, the government encouraged leisure, art-related, cultural and commercial developments in this area. Located near (and tightly combined with) Changping Road cultural creative leisure district, the rejuvenated industrial site Tong Le Fang was expected to be an impetus for the economic growth and physical renewal of the surrounding urban area.</p> |
| <p>Figure (Left): Old and new neighborhoods in comparison. (Right): Around Tong Le Fang, more and more new high-rise buildings are being built recently.</p> |  |

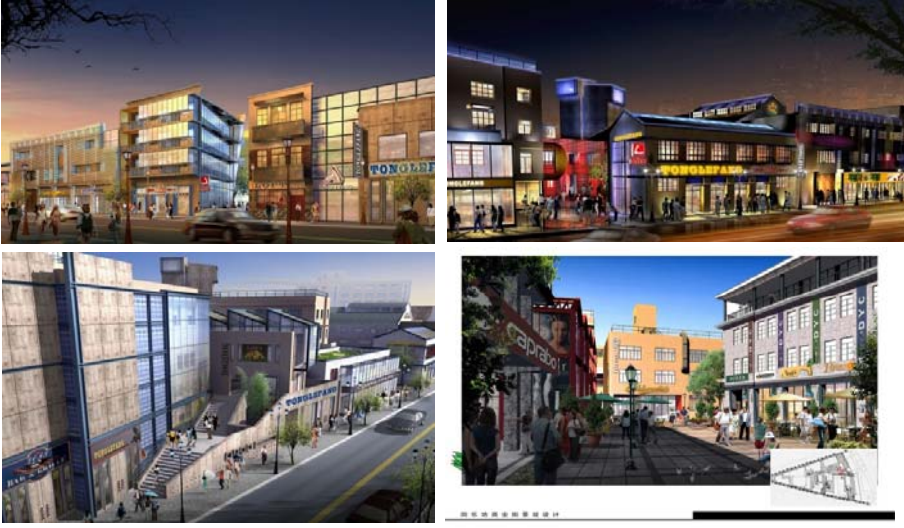


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| <p>4. Industrial Context “Linong Factories”</p> | <p>Since the early 1920s, the manufacturing industry of Jing'an District developed at a fast speed, and a large number of Linong factories (neighborhood factories) emerged. Many of them were small-size and laid in light industries such like textile and food productions. Since the huge and concentrated factories could not find a place on a small piece of site like Tong Le Fang, a number of small Linong factories emerged. They were built along the alleys and mixed with residential housing. Due to the spatial intimacy, the lives of residents were tightly combined to the factories, and many of the residents were factory employees. In the 1950s, some old Linong factories stopped production and shut off. With the fast-developing new industries like electronic manufacturing, new factories took the place of old ones. Tu'ao Color Printing Factory, Shanghai Wirework Factory II, Shanghai Electrical Machinery Factory were all newly emerged factories at the time.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Historical factories of the 1940s. (Source: Tong Le Fang website, http://www.totalrichfun.com/03000.asp)</p> | <div data-bbox="495 646 901 1171" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="966 672 1356 1029" data-label="List-Group"> <p>Main factories in the 1940s:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. China Steel and Iron Factory 2. China Steel Factory 3. Mabaoshan Candy&Biscuit Factory 4. Zengtai Roving Factory 5. Sanyuan Rubber Printing Press 6. Xingye Chemical Plant 7. Public Electrical Machinery Factory 8. Youlian Construction Co. Workshop 9. Xinhengtai Iron Works 10. Shanghai Tinfoil Mill </div> |
| <p>Industrial feature</p> | <p>The industrial buildings in Tong Le Fang were not in a structurally sound condition. They even had very little heritage value. However, the post-industrial block had unique industrial features and various architectural types. The saw-toothed roofs, dormant windows, ventiducts, corridors, steel stairs, old elevators and pipelines on the dilapidated buildings were so unique that they were largely appreciated by artists and citizens. In the renovation project, many unique industrial features were preserved to memorize the past.</p> |
| <p>Figure: the saw- toothed roofs in Tong Le Fang. (Source: Tong Le Fang website http://www.thenewfactories.com/new/newsshow.asp?m_id=35)</p> | <div data-bbox="479 1520 982 1862" data-label="Image"> </div> |

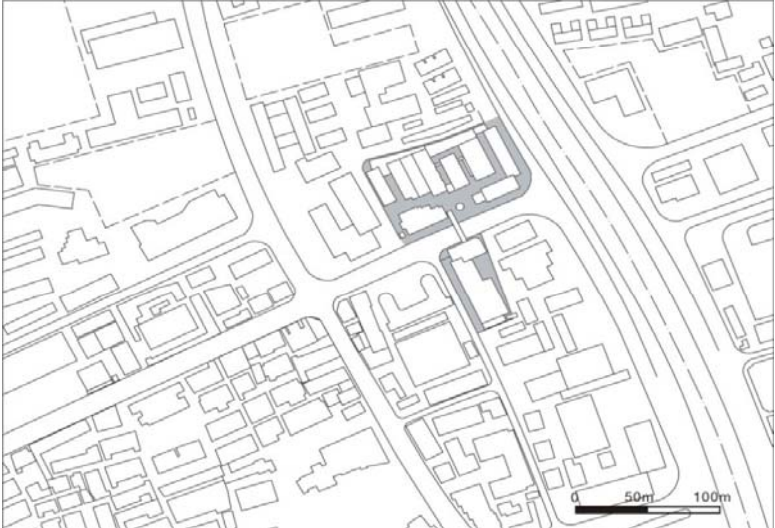
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| <p>5. Land Subdivision & Ownership</p> | <p>Early in the 1920s, “Tong Le Fang” was only the name of No. 503 Linong residential area on Haifang Road. (“Li”, “Fang” are all typical names of Linong residential wards in Shanghai). After the renovation project Tong Le Fang became the name of the whole block. On the small triangle site there used to be dozens of residential buildings, small factories, warehouses, shops and piecemeal added buildings. There are even shopping centers, leisure developments, and schools located on the site (Such as Xihai Shopping Center, Jinghua Primary and Secondary School, theatres, etc.). Since the 1940s, the complicated land subdivision and ownership turned the site into a “jumbled patchwork”, in which subdivided small areas developed separately in the following years.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Land ownerships in the 1940s.</p> |  |
| <p>The government-sponsored development</p> | <p>It was difficult for the 11,300-square-meter jumbled block to develop as a whole. Because of the intricate land ownerships, the project needed to negotiate for the land and relocate all the factories and residents, which was difficult for estate developers if without the support from governments. Therefore early from the beginning Tong Le Fang project was intervened by the local authorities. To support the property developers, Jing'an district government set up a committee and made strict administrative regulations. Totally nineteen government departments were involved in this redevelopment project, such like the Culture Bureau, planning agencies and tax officials. It was thus possible for a high-efficient infrastructure rebuilding, a less strict censorship and a short period of construction. Admittedly, such a complex project may not possible if it was initiated by and only relied on property developers.</p> |



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| <p>6. Built environment</p> <p>Figure: The site pattern of Tong Le Fang before and after its upgrading project. (Source: Shanghai Channel http://local.sh.sina.com.cn/mdxx/4607.html)</p> |  |
| <p>Site pattern</p> | <p>Before reconstruction project, the narrow south-north Linong alleys were the major passageways on the 11, 000-square-meter site. Various types of industrial buildings (mostly dilapidated multi-story buildings) stood side by side along the alleys. Some of the narrow passways or branch alleys linked directly to the outside street and became entrances. The renovation project improved the building quality, opened up more entrances (now six entrances), dismantled some old buildings to create more open squares, which were based on the irregular shape of the original small squares. As the new site pattern was created, the spatial diversity and number of public spaces were increased in the new Tong Le Fang.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Spatial configuration-- alley, entrances and open spaces (after renovation)</p> |  |
| <p>Various Architectural Types and Features</p> | <p>Before becoming an art factory, in Tong Le Fang a large majority of buildings were those tiny, compact and low-rise (mostly below four stories) workshops and warehouses. Although dilapidated, they created diversified industrial features with a wide range of architectural types in different scopes, sizes shapes and layouts. In the 1940s' map of the site, there located some buildings for cultural, commercial and sports usages, like Jinghua Primary and Secondary School, Zhijiang Theater, Xihai Stadium, Xihai Shopping Center, Daning Electrical Supplies, Daming Bookstore, etc. These buildings were dilapidated and congested on the small piece of land, but their historical, cultural and architectural value were rediscovered and re-appreciated by artists. For example, the old arcades, the "Yi Xian Tian" (a gleam of sky in-between the adjacent buildings), the famous Zhijiang Theater, the saw-tooth roofscape and even the old pipelines all became icons in the subsequent renovation, representing the beauty of the past.</p> |


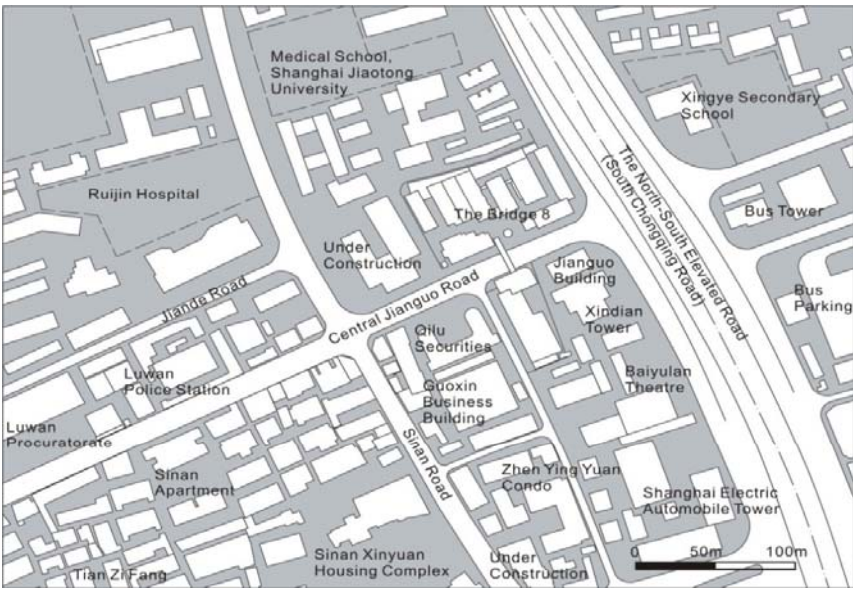
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| <p>7. Ways of Regeneration</p> | <p>After the factories stopped production and moved out, Tong Le Fang became a seedy slum, a place of decay and dereliction and was blighting the inner city. It was occupied by small restaurants, grimy shops, dirty, jumbled residential houses, and rubbish was everywhere. But soon the depressing landscape was completely changed by the government's environmental redevelopment plan. In 2004 Jing'an district government launched a 5-month project to improve the images of the area. It widened and refurbished Yuyao Road, then cleaned up all the slums on the site. Then the vacant buildings in Tong Le Fang began to be restored and reused in a upgrading scheme.</p> |
| <p>Figure: The government's planning proposal for Tong Le Fang. (Source: Tong Le Fang website. http://www.totalrichfun.com/03000.asp)</p> |  |
| <p>Reasons for government-led regeneration</p> | <p>Because of the dirty environment and dilapidated buildings, Tong Le Fang was never spontaneously occupied and reused by artists, and its only driving force of regeneration came from the governmental intervention. As mentioned before, it was difficult for the real estate developers to launch the redevelopment project because it involved intricate property ownerships. Besides, few developers were willing to pour money into the environmental improvement. Therefore, the local authorities had to intervene and facilitate the redevelopment of the area.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Yuyao Road, widened and cleaned up in the upgrading project.</p> |  |

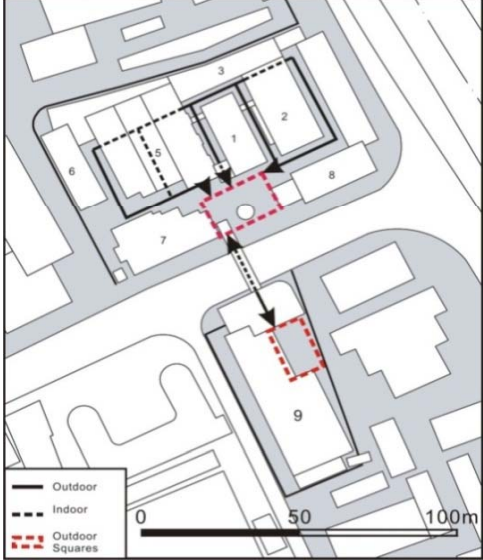

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| <p>8. Upgrading Project and Site Planning</p> <p>Figure: The newly established entrances and sub-entrances</p> |  |
| <p>Master plan</p> | <p>A master plan was conceived for the triangle site, except for some Linong housing, residential buildings and shophouses along Xikang Road and on the corner of Yuyao Road and Haifang Road. (Actually, the residents were marginalized in the redevelopment plan.) Planners firstly widened the narrow lanes and alleys between adjacent buildings, created new openings and entrances from the outside street. Then they tore down some unusable and less valuable buildings to build open squares. The site pattern were largely preserved, and a majority of workshops were rebuilt according to their original appearances.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Steel frames were rebuilt as landmarks and symbols of the past industry. (Left): Photo by Hee, Limin. Nov 2006)</p> |  |
| <p>New features on old sites</p> | <p>The 22 buildings in Tong Le Fang were not simply preserved and reused in their original appearance, but were endowed with fashionable and artistic characteristics. Interesting leisure spaces were created, such as corridors, lanes, roof gardens and open squares. Also retained and renovated were those small irregular spaces surrounded by the random arranged buildings. The entrances and routes were also re-planned to separate the vehicles and pedestrians. Besides, some dilapidated building in Tong Le Fang were completely dismantled and rebuilt with steel frames as landmarks and icons of the past industry. Currently at the centre of this "triangle island" there are public squares for creative shows, outdoor leisure activities and art events. Perhaps the mostly attracting new space is the "Zhijiang Dreamworks", a two-storied multipurpose performance hall, renovated from the former Zhijiang Theatre and decorated with modern materials.</p> |

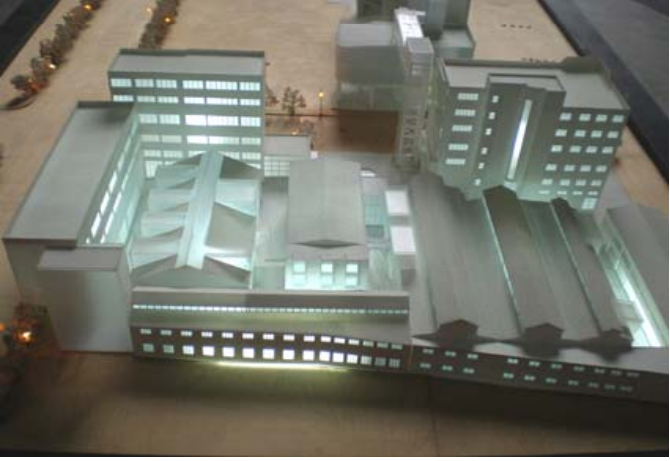
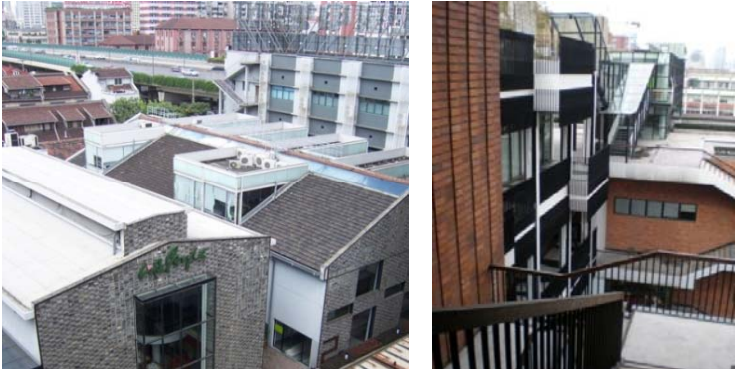
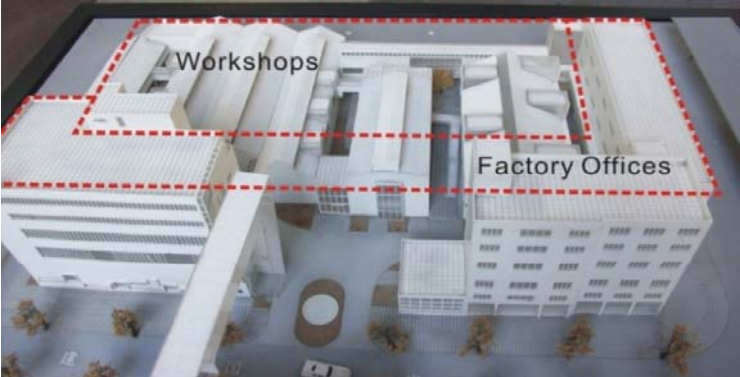
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| <p>Figure: Perspectives of Tong Le Fang. (Source: Tong Le Fang website. http://www.totalrichfun.com/03000.asp)</p> |  |
| <p>Recover the “past” in reconstructions</p> | <p>Following the principle of “Zheng Jiu Ru Jiu” (recover the old images and features in renovation), the diversified architectural types and spatial features were preserved. For example, the saw-toothed roofs of the Tu’ao Color Printing Factory were restored according to their original appearance and copied to another building. As stated before, some dismantled buildings are rebuilt with steel frames as landmarks and icons of the past industry. The dormant windows and pipelines on the outer wall were also retained. While almost all buildings were refurbished, they were still trying to represent and recover the images and details of the past (on the second half of the 20th century).</p> |
| <p>Figure: The guiding map of Tong Le Fang.</p> |  |
| <p>Old and new images</p> |  |



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| 1. Background: The Bridge 8 |  |
| Art District Name | The Bridge 8 |
| Established Year | around 2005 |
| Site Location | No.8-10 Central Jianguo Road, Luwan District |
| Former Industry | Shanghai Automobile Brake Factory |
| Built Year | around the 1950s-1960s |
| No. of Buildings | 7 (Phase I); 1 (Phase II) |
| Occupied Area | more than 7,000 square meters (Phase I); 2,400 square meters (Phase II) |
| Building Area | 12, 000 square meters (Phase I); 8,400 square meters (Phase II) |
| Updating Project(s) | 2003-Dec 2004 (Phase I); 2005-2007 (Phase II) |
| Predominant Art Industry/ Business | designing companies, architecture/advertisement enterprises, art/media institutions, fashion/visual arts/industrial arts, shops/handicrafts, restaurants/café's, clubs, leisure services, etc. |
| No. of Tenants/Enterprises | Over 70 |
| Description | <p>The Bridge 8 is located in No.8-10 Central Jianguo Road and occupies an area of about 10,000 square meters. It is named after the eight buildings interconnected by overbridges. Since the 1950s it became the territory of Shanghai Automobile Brake Factory, one of Shanghai's largest automobile accessory providing factories. At the end of 2003, the factory stopped production and was rented by Lifestyle Consulting Co., Ltd for its redevelopment. The term of lease was 20 years, and the whole project was planned to be completed in two stages. Phase I was the reconstruction of seven industrial buildings on the north of Central Jianguo Road. Phase II was the refurbishment of a former office building (also a part of the factory) on the south of the road. When Phase I was completed at the end of 2004, the Bridge 8 became not only a famous fashion and creative center but also an art cluster incorporated a lot of world-famous design and art companies (including architecture firms, advertisements, art-related institutions and fashion studios). Recently in 2007 a 29-meter-long "Bridge of Creativity" was completed above Central Jianguo Road, linking Phase I and Phase II as an overpass and public exhibition space.</p> |



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| <p>2. Social/Urban Change</p> | <p>Shanghai Automobile Brake Factory was one of the factories built in the 1950s, when the industrialization took place all over the country. Influenced by the impact of the 1978's economic reforms, Shanghai government began an ambitious plan for urban infrastructure reconstruction in the 1990s, which brought great changes on the cityscape. In the 1990s, after years of economic growth, Shanghai began to re-structure its urban industry. Service industries, as a new vehicle for urban regeneration, gradually took the place of manufacturing and mass productions. As a result, a large number of downtown factories migrated outside the city. The real estate market, in the past few years, experienced its heydays. Subways, highways, high-rise housing and large numbers of office and commercial buildings have been built in the inner city, and numerous industrial sites have been effaced from the map of downtown.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Google satellite map of the Bridge 8. (Source: Google Earth 2008)</p> |  |
| <p>The“Xintiandi Model”: regeneration through preservation</p> | <p>During the past few years, the city has torn down many old buildings (sites) to make room for new constructions. The disadvantages of this large-scale demolition have gradually been realized, and this has triggered off a debate between urban scholars and policy makers/private developers over the issue of urban preservation in regeneration. In this situation, “Xintiandi” became a pilot project that was supported by the government and reused the historical buildings to redevelop an old urban area. With considerable investment from the estate developers, the project restored the valuable Shanghai Shikumen Linong residential blocks into a famous commercial, culture and leisure center. Completed in 1999, Xintiandi’s success has encouraged many other cases on the adaptively reuse of old buildings for new purposes.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Shanghai Automobile Brake Factory before it became the Bridge 8. (Source: HIROKAWA, S., 2005, p.174)</p> |  |



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| <p>3. Site Location</p> | <p>The Bridge 8 is located in central Luwan District between Sinan Road and South Chongqing Road (the South-North Elevated Road), covering two blocks on the both sides of Central Jianguo Road. The art factory is only 300 meter far from Tian Zi Fang (located in Taikang Road Historical Featured Conservation District). It has the same advantage on locations as Tian Zi Fang has. They are all located in the central downtown, close to the famous Huaihai Road Commercial District, Hengshan Road, Yuyuan Garden Shopping District as well as the 2010 Expo site beside Huangpu River.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Location of the Bridge 8 in the downtown map of Shanghai.</p> |  |
| <p>The implication of neighborhood blocks</p> | <p>The North-south Viaduct separates the Bridge 8 with its eastern part of the city, so the western surroundings play significant roles to the art district. To the north and west there locate large area of schools and hospitals, with some government offices, residential housing and their adjacent green spaces. Taikang Road Block, the historical preserved area is located on the southwest, which is full of Linong residential buildings and interspersed with some modern high-rise housing. Closely lying in the south are many new office/commercial buildings and small-scale residential blocks. To distinguish itself from normal business districts, the Bridge 8 has to be developed in a unique and creative form for a competitive advantage. The “creative estate” has attracted many creative talents, artists, and creativity-intensive companies. To correspond with the vibrant commercial activities in this district, the Bridge 8 has also transformed into a vogue center for stylish businesses, leisure and art.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Location and urban surroundings of the Bridge 8.</p> |  |

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| <p>4. Built Environment Spatial configuration</p> | <p>The Spatial pattern of the Bridge 8 is very simple. There are totally only eight buildings. Unlike in other art districts, the roads and alleys inside the territory are straight and simple. The large entrance square on the north side of Central Jianguo Road (Phase I) serves as a central public space and the alleys all connect the square in a loop route. On the back of the yard, a narrow street passes under several buildings and forms an “inner leisure street” with leisure facilities and a small wide square. On the south of Middle Jianguo Road (Phase II) there only locates a five-storey office building, also surrounded by simple straight roads. It has an underground parking space and a ground-level leisure square. The overpass across Central Jianguo Road links Phase I and II sites.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Spatial configuration: major squares and passways in the Bridge 8.</p> |  |
| <p>Building list on the previous and current uses</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. single-storey workshop (trussed construction) --> Exhibition hall 2. single-storey workshop, (trussed construction with a newly inserted floor) --> Design companies and galleries 3. two-storey workshop --> Design companies and art institutions 4. — (no building No. 4) 5. two-storey workshop (trussed construction) --> Design companies, bookstores, restaurants, shops 6. two-storey Workshop --> Multi-storey parking space 7. five-storey office building (reinforced concrete structure) --> Design companies, consulting and trading enterprises 8. five-storey office building (reinforced concrete structure, with a single-storey auxiliary building) --> investment and management offices 9. five-storey office building --> Design companies, restaurants, etc. |
| <p>Figure: (Left) Model of the refurbished art factory (exhibited inside the Bridge 8). (Right) Building No.7 overlooking Central Jianguo Road.</p> |  |

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| <p>Figure: Site model (Phase I) exhibited inside the Bridge 8</p> |  |
| <p>Architectural types and features</p> | <p>Most workshops in the Bridge 8 are single-storey or two-storey buildings, and almost every building here is in regular shape (except Building No.3). To meet the needs of automobile production the former workshops have very high ceilings and large windows. For example, Building No.1 used to be a ten-meter-high clutch production workshop, and Building No.2 has very large windows in rows. Most industrial buildings are well-preserved in sound quality. They have showed diversified and unique industrial architectural characteristics in the historical brick walls, iron pipes, and steel staircases hanging on the walls. Many of the elements are preserved in the renovated art factories.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Bird's view (Left) Phase I (Right) Phase II.</p> |  |
| <p>Figure: Previous usages (Phase I)</p> |  |

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| <p>5. Ways of Regeneration</p> | <p>In 2003, a real estate company (Lifestyle Consulting Co., Ltd) signed a 20-year rental contract with Shanghai Automobile Brake Factory. The company spent about 30 to 40 million Yuan to improve the built environment of the site (including the refurbishment of walls, interiors and public spaces, establishment of leisure facilities, etc.). The reconstruction project was designed and led by HMA Architects and completed in two phases. Phase I was finished in late 2004 (previously the manufacturing site of the factory). The seven workshops were divided in the interior and refurbished to accommodate studios and designing companies. Phase II was finished in early 2007 (previously the office building of the factory) and connected with Phase I by the overpass. Similar to Phase I, the building in phase II is now occupied by offices of creative enterprises and leisure developments.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Perspectives of the Bridge 8 concept, with Phase I and II connected. (Source: posters exhibited inside the Bridge 8)</p> |  |
| <p>The "creative estate"</p> | <p>Different from other real estate companies, Lifestyle Company had its strict requirement when choosing prospective tenants for the Bridge 8. It was important for the tenants to be design, fashion and art-related companies so that the Bridge 8 could become a vogue, creative and art center. As a result, many companies were rejected even if they were willing to pay higher rents. The attempt to build a "creative estate" in the Bridge 8 was supported by Luwan district government and the Shanghai Economic Committee. On April 2004 the Bridge 8 was authorized as one of Shanghai's first creative industry gathering places, and on December 2005 it became a successful model of "National Industrial Tourism Destinations".</p> |
| <p>Figure: (Up) Ground floor plan of Phase I. (Down) Section and elevation of Phase I. (Source: HIROKAWA, S., HANTANT, K., and AZUMA, H., 2005, p.109)</p> |  |

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| <p>6. Upgrading Project and Site Planning Phase I</p> | <p>It took only half a year to complete the reconstruction project of the Bridge 8 (Phase I). According to HMA's design, the existing industrial buildings and structures were retained except for some incongruous constructions. New materials were used to decorate the external walls and interior spaces. Besides, the project gave priority to the improvement of workability of the old buildings. The waterproofing, thermal insulation, foundation stabilization were improved. Given the fact that the old workshops were to be used by offices and studios, the energy saving became very important. The roofs and walls in most buildings were rebuilt with skylights and large windows to improve the lighting, and some of the buildings were even fitted with movable shutters to allow natural air and light in. In addition, the project also created many open and semi-open public spaces with attractive landscape designs. For example, the entrance plaza's lighting was fascinating and very impressive at night.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Before and after renovation: the entrance square and the interior of Building No.1. (Source: the Bridge 8 website. http://www.bridge8.com/website/htmlcn/about_3.htm)</p> |  |
| <p>Figure: (Left) New roof skylights. (Right): Preserved steel roof structure. (Source: Photo by Hee, Limin, Nov 2006).</p> |  |
| <p>Figure: Night scene of the entrance square. (Souce: HIROKAWA, S., HANTANT, K., and AZUMA, H., 2005, p.106)</p> |  |

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| <p>Phase II</p> | <p>Phase II locates opposite to Phase I across the Central Jianguo Road. It is comprised of a square and a five-storey office building with a total building area of 6,400 square meters. The overpass that connects Phase I and II (the so-called “Bridge of Creativity”) is 29-meter-high and 24-meter-long, with a sightseeing lift accessible from the ground streets. The overpass is opened to the public daily and acts as an exhibition space. The “bridge” is decorated with green mosaic glass curtain walls as same as in its neighborhood Building No.9. With fascinating lights at night, it becomes the new landmark of Central Jianguo Road.</p> |
| <p>Figure: the “Bridge of Creativity”, which links the buildings in Phase I and II.</p> |  |
| <p>The “Bridges”</p> | <p>“Connection and communication” is a unique character that distinguishes the Bridge 8 from other art factories. Beside the “Bridge of Creativity” that connects Phase I and II, the seven buildings in Phase I are also interconnected at the second level by small overpasses. Theses “bridges” make it more convenient for the artists and designers working in different buildings to communicate with each other. The “bridges” are also built with various materials, such as iron, wooden, glass and concrete.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Various types of "bridges" that interconnect the buildings</p> |  |


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| <p>Spaces for communication</p> | <p>Based on the concept that “communication” is important for art and creative practices, the project added rich public spaces to the factory, like squares, outdoor cafés, atriums, exhibition halls. These public spaces thus become important platforms for designers and artists to communicate and exchange ideas. Some of the public spaces are large enough to hold exhibitions, lectures, performances and fashion shows, such as the atriums of Building No.5 and the entrance square. Some others are smaller leisure spaces, like the inner leisure street, where outdoor seating facilities of cafés and restaurants are providing resting places to the consumers. To further increase the art communication, a lot of showcases and exhibition walls are built in the factory. Many workshops are rebuilt into unusual, fashionable working spaces of artists and creative talents.</p> |
| <p>Figure: Leisure spaces in the back yard. (Source: Photo by Hee, Limin, Nov 2006)</p> |  |
| <p>New Materials</p> | <p>Different from many old factories in Shanghai, Shanghai Automobile Brake Factory does not have any unique industrial heritage (the factory was built relatively late, in the 1950s). As a result, the restoration is not limited by the original appearances of the buildings, but rather, renovated and decorated them with new artistic materials.</p> <p>The new building façades are decorated by grey bricks that removed from the old buildings and re-arranged with a bumpy texture. The use of the Shanghai local materials recalls a sense of history and combines the nostalgic feeling with the new modern appearance. Other new materials added to the old buildings are even more fashionable, such as the glass curtain walls, steel, wood laths and wire netting. The steel and glasses which reflect lights are used on the façade of Building No.1, so the entire wall glitters at night. The façade of Building No.2 are decorated with different sizes of windows, and the wood laths of Building No.3 as well as the wire netting of Building No.7 are all attractive. The diversified materials used in the upgrading project have brought colorful images to the old, unvarnished grey factory.</p> |

Figure: Before and after renovation. (top-down): Building No.1 and No.2; Building No. 5; Building No. 7; Building No. 9.
(Source: the Bridge8 website.
<http://www.bridge8.com/website/htmlcn/about3.htm>)



Figure: Walls for exhibition



Appendix II: List of the 75 Creative Clusters Authorized by Shanghai Creative Industry Center, 2008¹

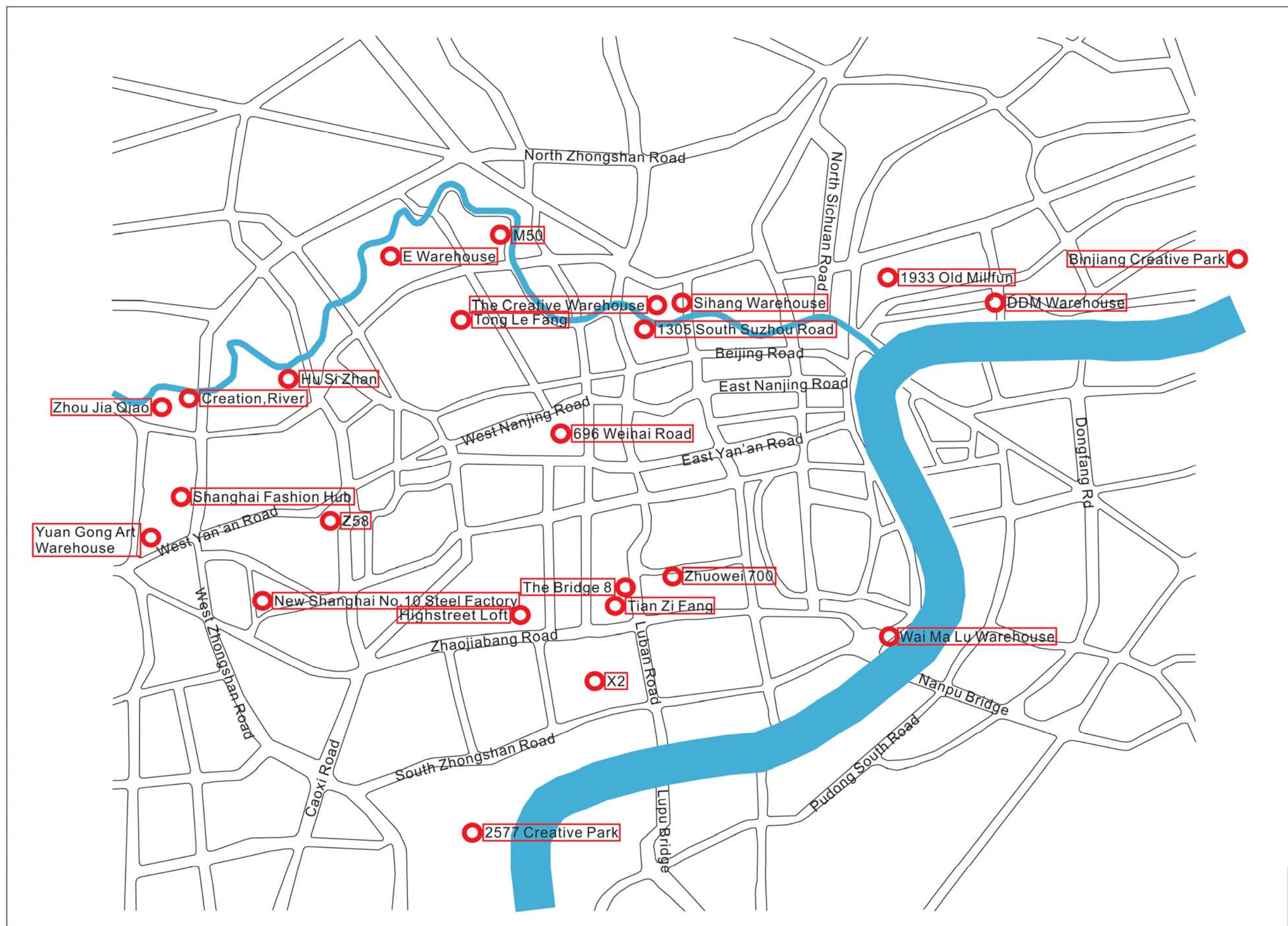


| The First Group: | | |
|---|--------------------|---|
| Name | Location | Remarks |
| 1. Tian Zi Fang * | Luwan District | Renovated factory |
| 2. The Bridge 8 * | Luwan District | Renovated factory |
| 3. The Creative Warehouse (Sihang-Guang'er Warehouse) * | Zhabei District | A single renovated warehouse, beside Suzhou Creek |
| 4. Tianshan Software Park | Changning District | Renovated factory |
| 5. Cultural Media Park | Jing'an District | Renovated factory |
| 6. Leshan Software Park | Xuhui District | Renovated factory |
| 7. Shanghai Fashion Hub * | Changning District | Renovated factory, |
| 8. Hongqiao Software Park | Xuhui District | Renovated factory |
| 9. Industrial Design Park | Zhabei District | A single high-rise office building |
| 10. Shanghai Tourism Souvenir Industry Development Center | Huangpu District | A single high-rise office building |
| 11. Jing'an Modern Industry Park | Jing'an District | A renovated industrial building |
| 12. Zhou Jia Qiao (Zhou Jia Bridge) * | Changning District | Renovated factory |
| 13. Zhangjiang Culture & Technology Creative Base | Pudong District | Newly built site in suburban area |
| 14. Design Factory | Xuhui District | Renovated factory, base of Shanghai Normal University |
| 15. M50 * | Putuo District | Renovated factory |
| 16. Tong Le Fang * | Jing'an District | Renovated factory |
| 17. Zhuowei 700 * | Luwan District | Renovated factory |
| 18. Only Design & Creativity | Yangpu District | A single high-rise office |

¹ Source: Official Website of SCIC (Shanghai Creative Industry Center). <http://www.scic.gov.cn>
Those clusters marked with * will be classified into Shanghai's influential and potential art factories according to the definition of art factory in this dissertation.

| Park | | building |
|---|--------------------------------|---|
| The Second Group: | | |
| 19. Hi-Shanghai | Yangpu District (near Hongkou) | Demolished all and rebuilt new loft-style buildings on a former industrial site |
| 20. The Creative Alliance | Yangpu District | A single high-rise office building |
| 21. 2577 Creative Park * | Xuhui District | Renovated factory (Jiangnan Guns Factory) |
| 22. X2 * | Xuhui District | Renovated factory |
| 23. No.63 Creative Design Park | Yangpu District | Mainly a single high-rise office building |
| 24. Tian Di Yuan (Tian Di Software Park) | Putuo District | |
| 25. Che Bo Hui | Pudong District | An automobile exhibition site |
| 26. Delin Apartment | Hongkou District | Mainly a renovated low-rise apartment building |
| 27. The Alloy Factory | Zhabei District | Renovated factory with newly built buildings |
| 28. Highstreet Loft * | Xuhui District | Renovated factory |
| 29. Yifei Creative Street | Pudong District | Newly built street (under construction) |
| 30. Dong Fang Gu | Yangpu District | Renovated factory |
| 31. Space 188 | Hongkou District | Renovated factory, A TMT digital media park |
| 32. Shang Jian Yuan | Xuhui District | Renovated factory |
| 33. Journey Souvenir Design Tower | Huangpu District | A single high-rise office building |
| 34. Zhi Hui Qiao | Hongkou District | Renovated factory |
| 35. Tong Li Yuan (Tong Li Creative Park) | Hongkou District | Renovated from previous Tongli Foreign Firm |
| The Third Group: | | |
| 36. Creation • River * | Changning District | Renovated factory, beside Suzhou Creek |
| 37. Creation • Spring | Changning District | Renovated factory |
| 38. JD Zhi Zao (Ji Dong Studio Production) | Zhabei District | |
| 39. Shu Yu Tower (Digital Entertainment Tower) | Xuhui District | A single high-rise office building |
| 40. Xi An Creative Garden (Out of the Box) | Xuhui District | Renovated factory |
| 41. Hu Si Zhan (Husi Depot) * | Changning District | Renovated factory and Qing-dynasty buildings |
| 42. 1933 Old Millfun * | Hongkou District | Renovated from a previous slaughterhouse |
| 43. Greenland Sunny Garden | Hongkou District | Renovated factory with a newly built building |
| 44. You Zu 173 | Hongkou District | Renovated factory |
| 45. New Shanghai No.10 Steel Factory (Shanghai Sculpture Space; Red Town) * | Changning District | Renovated factory |
| 46. UDC Innovation Plaza | Changning District | Renovated factory |

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------|---|
| 47. 98 Creative Parks | Jing'an District | Renovated factory |
| 48. E Warehouse * | Putuo District | Renovated factory, beside Suzhou Creek |
| The Fourth Group: | | |
| 49. Wai Ma Lu Warehouse (The Outer Dock Warehouse) * | Huangpu District | A single warehouse, beside Huangpu River |
| 50. Hui Feng Creative Park | Xuhui District | Renovated factory, near Huangpu River |
| 51. Zhi Zao Ju (Phase I-Park 2 Space; Phase II-Five Space) | Luwan District | Renovated factory |
| 52. Sihang Warehouse * | Zhabei District | A single renovated warehouse, beside Suzhou Creek |
| 53. Neowithub | Zhabei District | |
| 54. Zhong Huan Bin Jiang 128 (USST National Science Park) | Yangpu District | Renovated factory, high-tech base of USST (University of Shanghai for Science and Technology) |
| 55. Peacock Garden | Zhabei District | Renovated factory |
| 56. Chuang Yi Loft Space | Jing'an District | Renovated factory |
| 57. Shanghai Fashion Hub II | Changning District | Renovated factory, base of Donghua University |
| 58. Yuan Gong Art Warehouse * | Changning District | Renovated warehouse |
| 59. Wu Hua Yuan | Hongkou District | Office building |
| 60. Jian Qiao 69 Creative Park | Hongkou District | Office building |
| 61. Juwei Park | Changning District | Office building |
| 62. Creation Golden Valley | Putuo District | Renovated factory |
| 63. Xinxing Harbor | Hongkou District | |
| 64. Rainbow Rain | Hongkou District | Office building |
| 65. Wending Lifestyle | Xuhui District | Renovated factory, reused as shopping malls and business centers |
| 66. Changshou Creek (Changshou Suhe) | Putuo District | Renovated factory |
| 67. SAV Yue Jie | Xuhui District | Renovated factory |
| 68. Ming Shi Street | Zhabei District | Renovated factory, reused as shopping malls and business centers |
| 69. Media 1895 | Yangpu District | Renovated factory |
| 70. 3 Le Space | Jing'an District | Renovated factory |
| 71. 1305 South Suzhou Road * | Huangpu District | Renovated warehouse (Teng Kun-Yen) |
| 72. SOHO Li Yuan | Luwan District | Renovated factory |
| 73. Gubei Xin Qiao | Minhang District | Renovated factory |
| 74. Diyi Shijue Chuangyi Guangchang (First Vision Creative Park) | Songjiang District (Suburb) | |
| 75. Lin Gang International Media Industrial Park | Nanhui District (Suburb) | |



Appendix III: Map of Shanghai's Influential and Potential Art Factories